

on EPNNES letterhead

Bank of Portugal
Rua do Comercio
1100 Lisbon, Portugal

24 April 1991

Dear Sir:

It was suggested by the Cultural Attache of the Embassy of Portugal in Washington D.C. that I write to you.

I am preparing a research paper on the history of the \$ sign as used in the United States and elsewhere. I have been unable to find the history and development of your symbol " cifrao " prior to its use in 1797 on the paper money of some Portuguese banks.

I have examined your beautifully detailed and visually spectacular book on the Paper Money of Portugal and see many references to books unavailable to me here.

If you would be kind enough to help me I will be very grateful and I will gladly turn over to you whatever I find that is of interest to you on the subject of the dollar sign. You may write me letters or send me photocopies of anything you have in Portuguese because I have a neighbor who will translate it. I wish I could write to you in Portuguese, but I am sure there are several people fluent in English at the Bank.

If there are articles on the history of the \$ I would be grateful to see them.

The particular questions I am most interested in answering are as follows:

In what books, accounts, or written material was the \$ first used ?

What did it originally represent, a separator or punctuation for a number or a symbol for an amount or for a coin ?

Was it adapted from the Spanish symbol for Pesos (Ps) in which the S was placed over the two vertical strokes used in writing

Was there any change in meaning or use when the \$ was used with two numbers following it instead of three ? Example Rs 12\$900 and later 6\$10 R.

In the United States we did not use a \$ in print until 1799 and it was very slow to be accepted. The earliest written evidence in the United States so far as I know now is 1776 and that was apparently adapted from the West Indies.

I look forward to hearing from you and thank you for any cooperation you may be able to give.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

Dr. Antonio Miguel Trigueros
AP. DR. Antonio Jose de Almeida
1092 Lisbon
Portugal

17 June 1991

Dear Dr. Trigueros:

Your name was given to me by Dr. Robert Sayre as a person who might help me obtain some further historical information about the \$. I am presenting a program on \$ history in August 1991 and want to include the Portuguese background if possible.

I enclose a copy of letter I wrote to the Bank of Portugal in April 1991 but have not as yet had a reply.

I was told that you might know or be aware of someone who knows the early Portuguese history of the \$. You may feel free to contact the Bank of Portugal to learn what they may have located or you might already know the answer or where the answer is. The \$ must have been used in Portuguese manuscript or account books before 1797.

Approximately when was it used to designate milreis (100\$000)? Had it been used for other purposes prior to that? Did \$ mean 1000 or was it only a separator for numbers?

I would be very appreciative if you could help me in this matter as it should be as interesting in Portugal as it is in the United States.

Thank you for anything you may do.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

Ezra L'Hommedieu (1734-1811)

lawyer, legislator agriculturalist.

born in Southold, Long Island

Yale 1754

member of all N.Y. provincial congresses

C.B. Moore "Biography of Ezra L'Hommedieu
NY Genealogical & Biographical Jan 1871



Huguenot descent

Spanish Dictionary

Cifra

1. Secret code
2. Insignia painted on coaches
3. Abbreviation
4. An arithmetical mark

Calderon

1. Copper kettle
2. Mark of 1000 
3.  paragraph insignia
4. Sign denoting suspension of an instrument in a musical score.

Dr. Jerryl McDonald
Librarian

Hispanic Society of America
Bldg at 155th St
NY NY 10032
212-926-2234

Dealer in old Portuguese books

Richard C Ramer
225 E 70th St
NY NY 10021

~~312~~
212-737-0222

Prof Graca Rodrigues

Cultural Attache

Portuguese Embassy

Washington DC

202 328 8610

Eleana Geraldine

Contas 1000
Cifraon 1\$00

Leis

Calderon
in Spanish
prematurely

1910

Enc

~~Cifra~~

Cifra

code

~~Cifra~~

Imprensa Nacional
Casa de
Francisco Moeda
Manuel de Melo #5
1000 - Lisbon

Bank of Portugal
Rua do Comercio
1100 Lisbon, Portugal

CiFrã^o - singular monetary symbol / \$ sign
CiFrões - plural dollar sign

Cifra - zero

O símbolo \$ (cifrão) deriva do árabe "tsiphron" (zero). Foi primitivamente usada para representar mil unidades, abreviando sua escrita, conforme registrou Antônio^{de} Moraes Silva, em seu Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa, 2^a ed., Lisboa, Typ. Lacerdina, 1813:

CIFRA: s.f., A figura de um zero na Aritmética.

CIFRÃO: s.m., Na Aritmet. cifra grande cortada ~~Ø~~ : equivale 3 cifras
assimque 1\$ vale 1.000; 1.000.

O emprego monetário desta abreviatura mais antigo que em rápida pesquisa nos foi possível verificar, data de 10 de agosto de 1708, em carta de Manoel de Almeida Soares (Bahia) dirigida a Francisco Pinheiro (Lisboa). Diz ela:

.... Vim em tão ma ocazião q. achei a tterra chea de sedas da India q. se podem levar por negocio p^a esa tterra cauxa por onde não vendi nada nada (sic) de suas sedas e com a bulha da frota e com os baratilho dos homes da India nimgem olha p^a nada do reino mas partida a frota não ha duvida q. tudo se ha de vender bellamente e somte. tenho vendido 150\$ de sua caregm

(in "Negócios Coloniais - Uma correspondência comercial do Século XVIII-, Luís Lisanti Fioho, 1973, v. I, p. 7)

10
The **MERCHANT**
of **MANCHAC**

The Letterbooks of
John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790

Edited with an Introduction by
MARGARET FISHER DALRYMPLE

Published for the Baton Rouge Bicentennial Corporation by the
LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Baton Rouge and London

Appeared; that when it does his Immediate Compliance there to will not be Wanting; the Same Day arrd. from point Coupie one [?] Butler by Whom Mrs. McIntosh Sent Said Note; which I demanded of him (as your property) in Vertue of the fore mentioned Order; Which I likewise Shewd. him in presence of Mr. Lafite; all to no purpose; absolutely refusing Delivering it to me; in Consequence of which I obtaint Mons. Burgars promise not to pay him; nor any Other person untill I proceeded for his Government Mr. McIntosh's determination there on; which shall Solicet after my Arivel at Manchac—this day I set off; my Acting in this manr. I hope will meet your Approbation; as I hold it the Most ready Meathod your being reumbursed there of—

Mr. Thomas Deputized Mr. McIntosh his Constable which Commision he Admitted of to Search my house for Wine and Rum; by what protext I know not but his Attempt was frustrated by my people in not Delivering him the Keys of the Store—Mr. French prays his Compliments to You; and am With due Esteem . . .

To JEAN BAPTISTE SARPY, *St. Louis*

Manchac, March 26, 1772

In Answer to yours of the 17th Novemr. 1771 that Came safely to hand; and note well its Contents; I am in hopes (on Mr. Barrows Acct.) that you will not fail in fulfilling the promise that You gave me in Your Letter; sending Down what skins you have Got in the month next July; or sooner if possible; and if there is Nothing to be had (which I cant beleive) You will send me all the Bills & Accounts; that you have belonging to Mr. Barrow; that I may have it in my power to oblige Maxant to Come to a Settlemt—

You have here Inclosed Monsr. Dubriuel[']s] Bill on his Brother for £2750 Which I nor Monsr. Ranson could neaver make pay; he alledging that he had no founds [funds] of his Brothers in his hands; and more that he Would not Advance a farthing on his Accot.; Monsr. Peeraut; offered Me a percel of Spanish & french; Bills or Bons to the Amount off £1900 But I would not Except [accept] thim; Knowing them to be Nothing More than Immagenery Coyn; therefore have Declined having any thing to do with them—on Mr. Barrows; Accot. for I promise You that Mr. Barrow, has been Laying a long time out of his Money; and if I Take the Bills he Might lay a Great deal Longer; this being the Needfull for the present. . . .

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1770-1775

*L = hires
Actually in the
ms it is
written
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NEW TABLE OF SILVER COINS.

	Assay.	Weight.			Stan. Weight.			Contents in pure Silver grains.	Value in Sterling. s. d.
		oz.	dwt.	dwt. gr.	dwt.	gr.	mi.		
SPAIN	Old Mexican Peceta of two Mexican Reals (1736)	W. 0	4½	4 7½	4	5	2	93, 6	1 1,07
	Real of Mexican Plate (1746)	W. 0	4½	2 3½	2	2	11	46, 8	0 6,53
	Dollar, Mexican, with globes and pillars, (1765)	W. 0	4½	17 8½	17	0	0	377, 4	4 4,79
	Peceta of two Reals of Plate (1721) ..	W. 1	7	3 16½	3	5	14	71, 9	0 10,04
	Real of Plate (1721)	W. 1	7	1 20½	1	14	19	35, 9	0 6,01
	Dollar,* of late coinage	W. 0	8	17 8	16	17	0	370, 9	4 3,79
	Half Dollar, ditto	W. 0	8	8 16	8	8	10	185, 4	2 1,88
	Mexican Peceta (1774)	W. 0	8	4 7½	4	3	16	92, 3	1 0,88
	Real of Mexican Plate (1775)	W. 0	8	2 3½	2	1	20	46, 1	0 6,43
	Peceta Provincial of 2 Reals of new plate (1775)	W. 1	9½	3 18	3	6	0	72, 2	0 10,08
	Real of new plate (1795)	W. 1	9½	1 21	1	15	0	36, 1	0 5,04
SWEDEN	Rixdollar (1762)	W. 0	12	18 20	17	19	10	395, 5	4 7,22
	Rixdollar of late coinage	W. 0	14½	18 17	17	12	0	388, 5	4 6,28
	Double Plott, or Piece of ½	W. 0	14½	12 12	11	16	12	259, 6	3 0,25
	Single Plott, or Piece of ¼	W. 0	14½	6 6	5	20	6	129, 8	1 6,12
	Piece of 8 Skillings	W. 2	18	3 21½	2	21	2	63, 8	0 8,90
	Ditto of 4 Skillings	W. 5	2	2 15	1	14	0	31, 5	0 4,95
SWITZERLAND ..	Ecu, or Rixdollar of Lucerne, ½, &c. in proportion (1715)	W. 0	14½	17 8½	16	5	8	360, 1	4 2,28
	Old Gulden, or Florin of Lucerne (1714) ..	W. 1	19	8 14½	7	2	8	157, 5	1 9,99
	Ecu of 40 Batzen of Lucerne (1796) ..	W. 0	5	19 0	18	13	14	412, 3	4 9,57
	Half Ditto	W. 1	2	9 20	8	20	12	196, 7	2 3,46
	Florin, or Piece of 40 Schillings of Lucerne (1793)	W. 1	5	4 22	4	8	14	96, 8	1 1,51
	Half Florin of Lucerne	W. 2	2	2 15	2	3	0	47, 3	0 6,60
	Piece of 10 Batzen (1782)	W. 1	12	4 20½	4	3	14	92, 2	1 0,68
	Quarter Rixdollar of Friburg	W. 2	19	6 20½	5	0	18	111, 9	1 3,62
	Piece of ½ Rixdollar of Ditto	W. 3	0	3 7½	2	10	0	53, 6	0 7,48
	Piece of 20 Batzen of Soleure	W. 1	2	9 20	8	20	12	196, 7	2 3,46
	Ditto of 10 Batzen of Ditto	W. 1	2	5 1	4	13	0	101, 5	1 2,17
	Ecu of 40 Batzen of the Helvetic Republic, (1798) ½ in prop.	W. 0	6	18 23	18	10	14	409, 5	4 9,16
	Piece of 10 Batzen	W. 1	4	5 3	4	13	17	100, 5	1 2,03
	Ditto of 5 Batzen	W. 3	2	3 2	2	5	8	49, 3	0 6,88
	Ecu of 4 Franken (1801)	W. 0	7	18 23	18	8	12	407, 6	4 9,18
	(See also Basil, Bern, Geneva, Neufchatel, St. Gall, and Zurich.)								
TREVES	Rixdollar, specie	W. 1	3	18 1	16	4	2	359, 4	4 2,13
TURKEY	Altmichlic of 60 Paras (1757)	W. 4	2	18 12	11	16	0	259, 3	3 0,16
	Piastre of Mustapha III. (1757)	W. 4	11	12 7	7	6	0	161, 1	1 10,48
	Altmichlic of 1773	W. 4	9½	17 5½	10	6	12	228, 1	2 7,85
	Piastre of Abdul-hamed (1773)	W. 5	2	12 7	6	15	8	147, 5	1 8,59
	Another of the same period	W. 4	9	12 0	7	4	10	159, 6	1 10,28
	Piece of 100 Paras of Selim (1789) ..	W. 5	9	20 7½	10	8	4	229, 7	2 8,07
	Double Piastre of Ditto	W. 5	12	16 22½	8	9	10	186, 4	2 2,03
	Piastre of Selim of 1801	W. 5	6	8 6	4	7	8	95, 7	1 1,36

* This is the coin which is universally circulated under the name of the Spanish Dollar.

JAMAICA.

As the currency of Jamaica is £140, its proportion to sterling is as 7 to 5.
Hence, £1 sterling = 28s. currency; and £1 currency = 14s. 3½d. sterling.

Gold Coins. The following are the Gold coins current here, with their weight and legal value in currency:

		dwt.	gr.	troy.	Value in Currency.
SPANISH	Doubloon	17	8	.....	£5 0 0
	Two Pistole Piece ..	8	16	.....	2 10 0
	Pistole	4	8	.....	1 5 0
	Half Pistole	2	4	.....	0 12 6
PORTUGUESE	Johanes (called Joe)	18	12	.....	5 10 0
	Half Joe	9	6	.....	2 15 0
	Quarter Joe	4	15	.....	1 7 6
	Moidore	6	22	.....	2 0 0
	Half Moidore	3	11	.....	1 0 0
ENGLISH	Guinea	5	8	.....	1 12 6
	Half Guinea	2	16	.....	0 16 3
	Sovereign	5	2	.....	1 12 0

Any of the above Gold coins being found light, must pass according to their actual weight; and the deduction is 3d. currency for every Grain of deficiency. Thus, a Doubloon weighing 17 dwt. 6 gr. is worth only £4 19s. 6d. currency.

Silver
Coins.

The Silver coins of Jamaica are Dollars, with Halves, Quarters, Eighths, and Sixteenths; passing for 6s. 8d. 3s. 4d. 1s. 8d. 10d. and 5d. currency.

Also, Bits or Bitts, which are Spanish Reals, and which pass for 7½d. currency. Thus, 10 Bits and 5d. currency make 1 Dollar; and 1 Bit is worth 5½d. sterling.

Pistereens, or Two Bit Pieces, which are Spanish Pesetas, pass for 1s. 3d. currency, or 10½d. sterling.

English Shillings and Sixpences occasionally pass here as Pistereens and Bits.

Currency
compared.

From the foregoing values of the different coins, the following is the intrinsic par of the currency of Jamaica with respect to sterling:

The Real of *Old Plate* is better than the Real Vellon, in the proportion of 32 Monies and to 17. Thus 17 Maravedis of Old Plate equal 32 of Vellon. This Real is also Coins.
divided into 16 Quartos or 32 Ochavos.

The Real of Old Plate is not a coin; it is a money of account in particular provinces, and is the most general money of exchange. 8 of these Reals make the Peso de Plata, or Piastre, which is also called the Dollar of exchange; and when Plate only is mentioned, Old Plate is understood.

The Real of *Mexican Plate* is divided into Halves and Quarters, called Medio and Quartillo. It is the eighth part of the Hard Dollar, and is therefore worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ Reals Vellon, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Real of New Plate, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ Real of Old Plate.

The Real of Mexican Plate is the chief money of account in Spanish America, where it is divided into 16 parts; and in Spain it is sometimes divided into 21 parts.

It may be noticed that Vellon is the root of several other monies employed in domestic and inland trade. Thus 60 Reals Vellon equal the Doubloon de Plata Sencillo; 15 = the Peso Sencillo; and 11 = the Ducado de Vellon.

Besides the above, there are five Reals, which are only of local use. They are not coins but monies of account, and sometimes monies of exchange. Thus—

The Real of Alicant $13\frac{2}{3}$ of which equal the Hard Dollar.

Real of Catalonia $12\frac{1}{4}$ " "

Real Ardite of Catalonia $18\frac{1}{2}$ " "

Real current of Gibraltar 12 " "

Real of Valencia $17\frac{1}{4}$ " "

The following are the principal monies of exchange:—

The Peso de Plata or Piastre, before explained, contains 8 Reals or 272 Monies of Exchange.
Maravedis of Plate, or 15 Reals 2 Maravedis Vellon.

The Doubloon de Plata or Pistole of exchange is four times the value of the above Piastre.

The Ducado de Plata or Ducat of exchange is worth 11 Reals 1 Maravedi of Plate, or 20 Reals $25\frac{1}{4}$ Maravedis Vellon.

The following Table is a new arrangement of the monies of Spain shewing, at one view, their relations to each other, and their sterling value in silver, that is, at 5s. 2d. per Ounce standard.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF SPANISH MONIES,
SHEWING
THEIR PROPORTIONS TO EACH OTHER, AND THEIR STERLING VALUE.

	Hard Dollar.	Dollar of Exchange.	Reals of New Plate	Reals of Old Plate.	Reals Vellon.	Quartos.	Maravedis Old Plate.	Maravedis Vellon.	Sterling Value d. dec.
Hard Dollar	1	$1\frac{2}{3}$	10	$10\frac{1}{2}$	20	170	361 $\frac{1}{2}$	680	51,79
Dollar of Exchange, or of Old Plate	$\frac{6}{8}\frac{1}{2}$	1	$7\frac{2}{7}$	8	$15\frac{1}{7}$	128	272	512	39,00
Real of New Plate	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{2}$	1	$1\frac{1}{16}$	2	17	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	68	5,18
Real of Old Plate, or of Exchange..	$\frac{8}{85}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{17}$	1	$1\frac{1}{17}$	16	34	64	4,87
Real of Vellon.....	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{1}{25}\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	$18\frac{1}{6}$	34	2,59
Quarto	$\frac{1}{70}$	$\frac{1}{128}$	$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{17}$	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	4	0,305
Maravedi of Old Plate	$\frac{1}{144}\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{272}$	$\frac{1}{289}$	$\frac{1}{34}$	$\frac{1}{289}$	$\frac{1}{17}$	1	$1\frac{1}{4}$	0,143
Maravedi of Vellon	$\frac{1}{680}$	$\frac{1}{512}$	$\frac{1}{68}$	$\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{34}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	1	0,076
* Libra of Catalonia	$\frac{8}{15}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{2}{3}$	$90\frac{2}{3}$	$198\frac{1}{3}$	$362\frac{2}{3}$	27,62
Libra of Arragon	$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$9\frac{1}{7}$	10	$18\frac{1}{4}$	160	340	640	48,75
Libra of Alicant and Valencia.....	$\frac{6}{8}\frac{1}{2}$	1	$7\frac{2}{7}$	8	$15\frac{1}{7}$	128	272	512	39,00
Libra of Navarre	$\frac{8}{31}$	$\frac{1}{24}$	$1\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$26\frac{2}{3}$	$56\frac{2}{3}$	$106\frac{2}{3}$	8,125
Real of Catalonia	$\frac{4}{59}\frac{8}{5}$	$\frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{119}$	$\frac{1}{119}$	$1\frac{1}{119}$	13 $\frac{1}{7}$	$29\frac{1}{7}$	$54\frac{6}{7}$	4,15
Real of Valencia	$\frac{2}{42}\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{1}{68}\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{85}$	$\frac{1}{85}$	$1\frac{1}{85}$	9 $\frac{1}{5}$	$20\frac{1}{5}$	$38\frac{2}{5}$	2,97
Real of Alicant.....	$\frac{3}{42}\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{85}$	$\frac{1}{85}$	$1\frac{1}{85}$	12 $\frac{1}{5}$	$27\frac{1}{5}$	$51\frac{1}{5}$	3,60
Real Ardite of Catalonia.....	$\frac{2}{59}\frac{2}{5}$	$\frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{1}{119}$	$\frac{1}{119}$	$1\frac{1}{119}$	9 $\frac{1}{7}$	$19\frac{1}{7}$	$36\frac{1}{7}$	2,75
Real of Gibraltar	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{1}{76}\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{96}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$14\frac{1}{6}$	$30\frac{1}{48}$	$56\frac{1}{2}$	4,31

By the inspection of the above Table, the relative values of the different monies may be readily seen, by observing that all the numbers on the same horizontal line are of one value, with reference to the titles at the head of the Table. Thus 1 Hard Dollar, on the first line, equals 20 Reals Vellon, or 51,79 Pence.

It will be also seen, on the last line, that the Real of Gibraltar equals $\frac{1}{12}$ of the Hard Dollar, $\frac{1}{12}$ of the Real of New Plate, $56\frac{1}{2}$ Maravedis Vellon, or 4,31d. sterling; and so of any other numbers.

Note.—The monies above the star are those most generally in use throughout Spain.

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Coins.

The following are the principal coins current in Spain :

		Vellon	
		Reals.	Maravedis.
In Gold	{ The Dobloon of 8 Escudos, or Quadruple }		
	{ Pistole, which passes for }	320	0
	The Dobloon of 4 Escudos, or double Pistole	160	0
	The Dobloon de Oro, or Pistole	80	0
	The Escudo	40	0
In Silver	The Coronilla or Veinten de Oro	20	0
	The Dollar or Peso Duro	20	0
	The Half Dollar or Escudo Vellon	10	0
	The Peseta Mexicana	5	0
	The Real of Mexican Plate	2	17
In base Silver . .	The Peseta Provincial	4	0
	The Real of Provincial Plate	2	0
	The Real Vellon	1	0
In Copper	The Piece of 2 Quartos	0	8
	The Quarto	0	4
	The Ochavo	0	2

The fineness of gold is expressed in Quilates or Carats, and Grains ; the Mark or other weight being divided into 24 Carats, the Carat into 4 Grains, and the Grain into 8 parts.

The fineness of silver is expressed in Dineros and Grains ; the Mark or other weight being divided into 12 Dineros, and the Dinero into 24 Grains.

By the royal edict of 1730, $8\frac{1}{2}$ Quadruples or Dobloons of 8 Escudos ; 17 Dobloons of 4 Escudos ; 34 common Dobloons or Pistoles, or 68 Escudos, were to weigh a Castilian Mark of gold 22 Quilates fine : and $8\frac{1}{2}$ Pesos Duros or Dollars, 17 Half Dollars, 34 Pesetas, or 68 Reals of Mexican Plate, were to weigh a Castilian Mark of silver 11 Dineros fine.

Thus, from 1730 till 1772, the gold was 22 Carats, and the silver 11 Dineros fine ; but in 1772, the gold was reduced to $21\frac{1}{2}$ Carats, and the silver to $10\frac{3}{4}$ Dineros fine, except the Pesetas and Reals, which were reduced to $9\frac{3}{4}$ Dineros fine. No alteration has since taken place in the silver coins ; but in 1786 the standard of the gold was again reduced to 21 Carats for the different Dobloons and their divisions, and to $20\frac{3}{8}$ Carats for the Coronilla or Veinten de Oro.

The remedy in the weight is 24 Grains per Mark, both for the gold and the silver coins. The remedy in the alloy is $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Carat for the gold coins ; 1 Grain,

Fineness of
Gold and
Silver.Rate of
Coinage.

Rate of
Coinage.

or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Dinero, for the Dollar and its divisions; and 2, or at most 3 Grains for the inferior silver coins.

Value of
Monies.

The Quadruple Pistole, or Dobloon of 8 Escudos (coined since 1786), contains $366\frac{1}{2}$ troy Grains of fine gold, and is therefore worth £3 4s. 9½d. valued in English gold coin; and the subdivisions of the quadruple are in proportion.

The Dollar (coined since 1772) should contain $374\frac{7}{8}$ troy Grains of fine silver, and its value, therefore, in English silver coin is 4s. 4½d., and the Half Dollar in proportion.

The value of the Peso of Plate, or Dollar of Exchange, in English silver coin is 39½d.; of the Dobloon of Plate, or Pistole of Exchange, 13s. 2d.; and of the Ducat of Plate, 4s. 6½d.

The Real of Old Plate is worth about 5d.; and the Real Vellon, 2½d. nearly; or, more accurately, £1 sterling equals 48 Reals 20½ Maravedis of Old Plate, or 91 Reals 17 Maravedis Vellon.

It should be observed, that the above calculations of the value of coins are made according to the mint regulations, without any allowance for remedy, which allowance may be valued at 6d. in the quadruple, and in the Dollar at ½d. sterling.

For the value of those coins according to assays, see *Tables of Coins*, Vol. II.

Weights &
Measures.

The original standards of Spanish weights and measures are preserved in the following cities, viz. the standard of long measure, at Burgos; that of dry measure, at Avila; that of liquid measure, at Toledo; and that of weight, in the Archives of the Supreme Senate at Madrid: copies, however, are distributed throughout the kingdom.

There are, however, several kinds of provincial weights and measures, which are described in this work under the heads of the places where such are used; but the following are the legal standards.

Gold and
Silver
Weight.

Gold is weighed by the Castilian Mark of 50 Castellanos, 400 Tomines, or 4800 Grains. Silver is weighed by the same Mark, but is divided into 8 Ounces, 64 Ochavos, 128 Adarmes, 384 Tomines, or 4608 Grains.

The Castilian Mark, also called the Mark of Colonia and Burgos, contains $3550\frac{1}{2}$ English Grains, or 230,043 Grammes.

1000 Dollars should weigh, according to the Mint regulations, 117 Marks, Ounces, Castilian weight, or 870 oz. English troy weight; but the average

weight of the
Ounces troy

Diamonds
which equal
Grains, which

The Apothecary
Drachmas, 2

* The contract
already noticed in
further explanation

In the former
erroneous statement
making this Mark
that this result has
General of Weights

The following
Marks transmitted

Sent from

The above four
as average of the
determination of

at 7475 Castilian

He further states
which also corresponds

The following are
Sent from

The above weight
is therefore proposed
only way of account

The correction

VOL. I.

MEXICO (*in North America*).

Accounts are kept here, and in all other parts of Spanish America, in Pesos or Dollars of 8 Reals, the Real being divided into halves and quarters. This Real is occasionally divided into 16 Parts; and also into 34 Maravedis of Mexican Plate. Monies of Account.

The Gold coins are Doubloons of 8 Escudos d'oro, worth 16 Pesos, (with a premium of about 8 per cent.); with halves, quarters, &c. in proportion. The Silver coins are Pesos Mexicanos or Dollars, with halves and quarters. The quarters, in Spain, are called Pecetas Mexicanas. There are also eighths or Reals, which in Spain are valued at $21\frac{1}{4}$ Quartos: also half Reals. Coins.

To express the fineness of gold, the Castellano, or other weight, is divided into 24 Quilates or Carats; the Quilate into 4 Grains; and the Grain into 8 Parts. Fineness of Gold and Silver.
The fineness of silver is expressed in Dineros; the Mark or other weight being divided into 12 Dineros, and each Dinero into 24 Grains.

By the Mint regulations of 1772, the following pieces were to be coined from a Castilian Mark of gold, $21\frac{1}{2}$ Carats fine; viz. $8\frac{1}{2}$ Doubloons of 8 Escudos, 17 Pieces of 4 Escudos, 34 Pistoles, or 68 Escudos. Rate of Coinage.

The following were to be coined from a Mark of silver, $10\frac{3}{4}$ Dineros fine; viz. $8\frac{1}{2}$ Pesos Duros, or 17 Half Dollars; and from a Mark of silver, $9\frac{3}{4}$ Dineros fine, 34 Pecetas, or 68 Reals of Mexican Plate.

The Doubloon, by these regulations, should contain 374 English Grains of pure gold, and be therefore worth £3. 6s. 2d. sterling. The Dollar should contain 374 Grains of pure silver; and its value is therefore 4s. 4½d. sterling nearly. Variations, however, have since been made in a part of this monetary system, which will be explained under the article *Spain*.

Of the silver taken from the new Spanish mines, and brought to the mint at Mexico to be coined, one-fifth formerly belonged to the King of Spain. About 2 Millions of Marks are annually brought to this city, 700,000 of which are struck into Dollars. The owners of such silver pay the expenses of the mint, and also a seignorage to the King of 1 Real per Mark. Though every Spanish subject is at liberty to have his silver coined on those terms, yet merchants are almost the only persons who avail themselves of this privilege. They buy up all Mint.

Mint. the silver they can procure, and deduct from the price 2 Reals per Mark, one for seignorage, and the other for the expenses of the mint.*

Weights, &c. The weights and measures of Mexico are those of *Spain*, which see.

MILAN (*in Italy*).

Monies of Account. Accounts were formerly kept here in Lire of 20 Soldi, or 240 Denari; but by a decree of 1806, they are now kept in Lire Italiane of 100 Centesimi: 2072 Italian Lire equal 27000 Lire Correnti. Thus, reckoning the Italian Lire or French Franc at $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. in gold, the Lira of Milan equals $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling nearly.

The Scudo di Cambio or Imperiale is reckoned at 5 Lire 17 Soldi, or 117 Soldi Imperiali; the Scudo Corrente, at 5 Lire 15 Soldi, or 115 Soldi Correnti.

The difference between the value of Imperial and Current money is determined by the Filippo, a coin that is invariably reckoned at 106 Soldi Imperiali, whilst its value in current money has been raised at different periods: in 1755 it was fixed at 7 Lire 10 Soldi, or 150 Soldi Correnti. According to that valuation, 106 Lire Imperiali are equivalent to 150 Lire Correnti, and 1219 Scudi Imperiali to 1725 Scudi Correnti.

Coins. The Gold coins are, Doppie or Pistoles—those coined since 1786 pass for 23 Lire 3 Soldi Correnti; Souverains, at 45 Lire; and Sequins, at 15 Lire 4 Soldi.

* The above account of the Mint at Mexico was published in 1781 by *Ricard*, by which it appears that the amount of silver annually coined there at that period was about 6 millions of Dollars; but in 1790 it was 17 millions, according to *Helms*; and, in 1804, above 20 millions, according to *Humboldt*, *Estala*, and other authorities. From statements laid before the Bullion Committee of the House of Commons, in 1810, by *John Allen, Esq.*, it appears that the annual average of both gold and silver, coined in the different mints of Spanish America for some time previously, was nearly as follows: Mexico, 24 millions of Dollars; Lima, 6 millions; Potosi, $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions; Santa Fé and Santiago, each $1\frac{1}{2}$ million; and Popayan and Guatemala, nearly 1 million; making, in all, about 8 millions sterling.

The proportion of silver to gold coined at all these mints was, on an average of several years, stated to be as 30 to 1; but the proportion of silver to gold produced from all the American mines was estimated as 62 to 1; and from the mines of all countries as 52 to 1.

M. Brongniart computes the value of gold and silver brought annually into circulation from all parts of the world, to be worth nearly 46 millions of Dollars; of which 36 are from Spanish America, $4\frac{1}{2}$ from Portuguese America, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ from the Old World; making the annual increase in all nearly 10 million Pounds sterling. (*Traité Elementaire de Minéralogie, Paris, 1807.*)

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THE
UNIVERSAL CAMBIST
AND
Commercial Instructor;

BEING A FULL AND ACCURATE TREATISE ON THE
EXCHANGES, MONIES, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES,
OF ALL
TRADING NATIONS AND THEIR COLONIES;
WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR BANKS, PUBLIC FUNDS, AND PAPER CURRENCIES.

BY P. KELLY, LL.D.

MASTER OF THE FINSBURY-SQUARE ACADEMY, LONDON; AUTHOR OF DIFFERENT WORKS ON SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS,
AND MATHEMATICAL EXAMINER TO THE TRINITY HOUSE.

VOL. I.

The Second Edition,

INCLUDING

A REVISION OF FOREIGN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES,

FROM AN ACTUAL COMPARISON OF THEIR STANDARDS,

BY THE ORDER AND AID OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

LONDON:

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AND J. M. RICHARDSON, CORNHILL, OPPOSITE THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

1821.

ORACLE of DAUPHIN

HARRISBURGH ADVERTISER

PRINTED BY JOHN WYETH, AT HIS OFFICE IN SECOND-STREET, HARRISBURG

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1805.

Expenditures in the Treasury of Dauphin County, from January, 1804, to the 4th day of February, 1805---both days

Boyd, Esquire, Treasurer,
Account with the County of Dauphin:—
Balance at settlement, viz.
8 5—equal to \$3022 45
debts 632 14 5—equal to 1687 25
ted lands — 98
— 73

for the year 1804.

Sums.	Collectors.
\$273 12	John Shepley
112 93	John Sweigert
130 39	Obed Fahnestock
232 38	Christian Sheffer
270 71	Samuel Finney
202 25	Thomas Koppenheffer
284 65	Henry Wolf
485 96	Henry Hilger
487 33	Bernhard Reinhart
274 47	Jacob Bohm
304 20	John McDonald
231 98	Stoffle Ernst
228 20	Henry Haga
	\$3514 57

the year 1804, 450 00

debts due by the following persons

der Berryhill's duplicate for 1796, 578 42
collector of Derry, for the year 1801, 45 21

No.	Amount bro
29	To cash paid Peter Bricker,
30	Harrisburgh, Pa. Philip Eba, deficienci
31	Printed \$ syx. Henry Reickert, for j
32	space instead of Jacob Wentz, conting
33	period between Michael Kapp, iron
34	dollars and cents George Wolfersberge
35	Jacob Mack, wood fo
36	Philip Iba, township
37	Benjamin Mayer, pr
38	George Beshore, tow
39	John Cassell,
40	Benjamin Kurtz, cou
41	Anthony Pratz, defici
42	Michael Rathsong, i
43	John Boal, township
44	John Mace, state wi
45	Christian Fpler & al
46	Adam Weiss, esq. 8
47	Henry Reickert, jai
48	John Finney, ignor
49	Robert Grayson, re
50	Daniel Henning, de
51	Robert Grayson, es
52	Christian Shott, de
53	Obed Fahnestock, c
54	John Demuth & als
55	Michael Rathsong,
56	Charles Brandon,
57	John Umbarger, st
58	Mary Stocker,
59	Levi G. Hellingso
60	Jacob Mack, jail fe
61	Jacob Wentz, cont
62	John McDonald, ig
	Peter Kullenger an

Oracle of Dauphin & Harrisburgh Advertiser
Jan 17, 1807

Mixed use of \$, dls, dollar & no denum

in Dallas's reports as aforesaid, page 161, "They had risen upon the master, and confined him and the other mariners, in the cabin, where a contest was kept up for the command of the vessel. At the Convention, and Gerard came up with her, and the question was, whether the four American mariners had subdued the rest of the crew, before those vessels were in sight; that is, whether hostilities had then ceased? The jury were of opinion, they had, and gave their verdict accordingly.

Your committee are of opinion, that the legislature would not be warranted in directing the money paid into the treasury as aforesaid by the heirs of David Rittenhouse, to be paid to the petitioner; but as they conceive Gideon Olmstead to be a brave man, and a patriotic citizen, active in the times which tried men's souls," and that the meritorious services which he rendered his country, in her most difficult and trying times, is truly deserving the acknowledgment of the legislature, for which purpose they offer the following resolution, viz.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to draft and report a bill for vesting in Gideon Olmstead a lot of donation land." Laid on the table.

Among a great variety of Books at J. Wycit's Bookstore, the following are for sale, some of which have just come to hand.

Betham's Biographical Dictionary of celebrated women of every age and country, 8 2 50

Symes's Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor General of India, in 1795, 3 vols. and an elegant vol. of plates, 12

Wilson's history of Egypt, from the earliest account of that country till the expulsion of the French from Alexandria in 1801, 3 vols, 8

Tales from the Russian Nicolai Karamlin, with plates, 2

Bingley's Excursions thro' North Wales in 1798 and 1801, with plates, 2

and daughter, 3 vols. 3
 Domestic Encyclopedia, 5 vols. 15

Pinkerton's Geography with atlas, 14

Scott's Dissertations, essays and parellels, 2 33

Barclay's new anatomical nomenclature 1 67

Walker's Dictionary, School and Pocket Bibles,

History and conquest of the Canary Islands, including a history of the ancient and modern inhabitants. 6 dls.

Life of Erasmus. 6 dls.
 Goldsmith's Essays, 2 vols. 1 dl. 50 cents.

Travels in the Crimea, being a history of the Embassy from Petersburg, to Constantinople, in 1793, including a journey thro' Kremenschuck, Oczakow, Wallachia and Moldavia, with the reception at the court of Selim the 3d, by a secretary to the Russian Embassy. 2 dls. 50 cts.

Practical Discourses, by the rev. Richard Warner, curate of St. James's parish, Bath. 2 dls.

Beveridge's Private Thoughts. 1d.
 Constant Lovers, a novel by Kotzebue, 2 vols. 1 dl.

Belmour, a novel, 2 vols. 2 25cts.
 Pomfret's poems, 50 cents.

Plays—Folly, as it flies—Maid of Bristol—Life—Hear both sides—Marriage Promise.

Truth and excellence of the Christian religion exhibited. By Hannah Adams, 1 dl. 25

Progress and empire of Christ, from his birth to the end of his mediatorial kingdom. By Elhanan Winchester. 1 dollar.

Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew, by B. Porteus, bishop of London. 2 dl.

Watts's Logic, on the right use of reason.

An abridgment of geography, just published Rowson,

Travels of Young Henry of El Dorado, 3 vols. 350.

Citizen of the world smith. 2.

Lady Geraldine Bell The celebrated of translated into English by Thomas Moore, E. call gilt. 2.

A new and complete version Cards, hand cards, price 25 cents. The posthumous work Bleeker.

Notes on all the Books the use of the pulpit, by Joseph Price R. S. &c. 4 vols.

Fenn's Euclid's elementary.

Simpson's Euclid. Philadelphia Songster's latest collection of the unaccreted, political songs ever published. Hymns and Spiritual of Christians commended Hymn Book.

MAVOR's collection and TRAVELS, 24 GUTHRIE's GEO Atlas.

Letters from Bar daughter, on the truth religion.

ALCIPHON, or the pher, containing a definition of religion against theists & infidels, by Geo.

A new system of metric, adapted to the United States, in its reign relations, with and other writings, as trade, by Michael.

Winchester's Lectures, that remain vols. 4 50.

Newton's Prophecies Parkinson's medical ILLUSTRATIONS by Wm. Preston, p

Lodge of Antiquity, aerial constitution. 1st edition.

[To be continued]

NOTATION.

Of Federal Money.

10 Mills (//)	make 1 Cent.
10 Cents - - -	1 Dime.
10 Dimes - - -	1 Dollar.
10 Dollars - - -	1 Eagle.*

Characteristics.

//
X
X
E.

Q. What are the names of the several foreign and federal gold, silver and copper coins, circulating in the United States, and their value in Federal Money?

A.

Gold Coins.

Foreign.	A Double Johannes is	16.00 0
	A Single ditto, - - -	8.00 0
	An English Guinea, - -	4.66 7
	A Half ditto, - - -	2.33 3
	A French Guinea, - -	4.59 8
	A half ditto, - - -	2.29 9
Federal.	4 Pistoles, - - -	14.45 2
	2 Pistoles, - - -	7.22 6
	1 Pistole, - - -	3.61 3
	A Moidore, - - -	6.05 8
	An Eagle, - - -	10.00 0
	A Half ditto, - - -	5.00 0
	A Quarter ditto, - - -	2.50 0

Silver Coins.

A French Crown is	1.10
A Half ditto, - - -	0.55
A Pistareen, - - -	0.20
A Half ditto, - - -	0.10
Spanish & Federal Dol.	1.00

Its parts are in proportion.

* The Eagle is the largest Gold Coin of the UNITED STATES. Dimes are annexed to Cents, and only the

NOTATION.

Copper Coins.

The Cent, one hundredth part of a Dollar.
Half Cent, or five Mills.

Q. At what rate, according to their present standard, are the Gold coins of Great Britain, Portugal, France and Spain, made a lawful tender in the United States, by act of Congress?

A. Those of Great Britain and Portugal, at the rate of 100 Cents, or 1 Dollar for every 27 grains actual weight: Those of France and Spain at 27 grains and two fifths of a grain actual weight.

Q. What is the standard of all gold coins of the United States?

A. Eleven parts fine, or pure gold, to one part of alloy; so that, eleven parts in twelve of the entire weight of the said coins must consist of pure gold, and the remaining one twelfth part of alloy.

Q. Of what is the alloy composed?

A. Of silver and copper—not exceeding one half silver.

Q. What is the proportionate value of gold to silver in all coins current in the United States?

A. It is as fifteen to one, according to quantity in weight of pure gold, or pure silver; that is to say, every fifteen pound weight of pure silver is, by act of Congress, to be of equal value, in all payments, with one pound weight in pure gold; and so in proportion.

Q. What is the standard for all silver coins of the United States?

A. One thousand, four hundred and eighty parts fine, to one hundred and seventy-nine parts alloy; and the alloy must be wholly of copper.

denominations of Dollars, Cents and Mills expressed, in reckoning Federal money: the Dollar being the money unit. For the names and values of foreign coins, see the Rules of Exchange, in the Second Part.

July 8
P. 119

OLIVER POLLOCK

The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot

BY

JAMES ALTON JAMES

Northwestern University

Author of "The Life of George Rogers Clark," etc.



D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY

INCORPORATED

NEW YORK

1937

LONDON

July 8
P. 19

CHAPTER I

A SUCCESSFUL TRADER IN NEW ORLEANS

FROM the opening of the Revolution, my soul panted for the success of the American arms, nor could I omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardor of those feelings, when it was in my power to be useful either to the public interest or to any individuals who had embarked their fortunes and their lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious."¹ This expression of patriotic fervor is more remarkable when we learn that it is the language of one who at the outbreak of the American Revolution had resided in one of the colonies for only two years.

In 1760, when he was twenty-three years of age, Oliver Pollock came with his father Jaret, two brothers and a young nephew, from Coleraine, Northern Ireland, to Philadelphia. Little is known regarding the members of the Pollock family in their former home. No record has been found which might serve to interpret Oliver's life in boyhood and young manhood. We find no account of his personal appearance. What education he obtained we do not know, but his many letters give ample evidence that he acquired a good use of the English language.

While little mention is made of Jaret Pollock after his arrival in America, it appears that he and three of his sons had been small landholders in Ireland. One of the brothers who remained in Ireland, evidently contrasting his hard lot with an imaginary life of ease enjoyed by Oliver in the New World, wrote: "Received yours which gives me pleasure to hear of your wellfare. I am to let you know that my misfortunes hurt me so much, that I will be obliged to go to you, if you do not

¹ Memorial of Oliver Pollock to the Legislature of Virginia, "Clark MSS.," *Virginia State Archives*, Pamphlet, October 26, 1811.

come home. Having one cow, was obliged to sell her from my poor helpless family; As for Brother Thomas he is very cruel to me. Notwithstanding he sits free, your father's land paying the whole rent." ²

From Northern Ireland during the preceding years of the eighteenth century had come to America large numbers of Protestants of Scotch ancestry and also some Roman Catholics. The destruction of the linen and woolen manufactures in which they were chiefly engaged was threatened by British commercial restrictions. Neither the Presbyterians nor the Catholics were willing to lend their support to the Anglican Church. Some of these immigrants found homes in Massachusetts and New Hampshire but larger numbers were attracted to the Susquehanna and the Shenandoah valleys of Pennsylvania. By 1735, their settlements were to be found also in western Virginia and as far south as Georgia. They were possessed of little personal property and were engaged in tilling the small farms.³

From the "Sign of the Indian Queen," a Philadelphia hotel, the Pollocks, of Scotch-Irish descent, migrated to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, known as the capital of the Scotch-Irish settlements. Here one of the Pollock brothers erected and operated a grist-mill near Silver Spring, while another acquired a tavern and became a large land-owner in Cumberland County.⁴

² Charles Pollock to Oliver Pollock, January 10, 1767. *Letters and Papers of Oliver Pollock*, Library of Congress. The letter was written from Donaghedy, Ireland. This village is a few miles from Londonderry.

³ The Irish famine of 1740 and 1741 accelerated the migrations and it is said that for a number of years the Protestant immigrants from Ulster, alone, numbered 12,000 annually. It has been estimated that 200,000 immigrants came from Ireland to the British colonies and the West Indies during the last fifty years of the eighteenth century. Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America*, II, 194.

⁴ The Spring, originally known as Silvers's Spring, was named after James Silvers who came into the valley in 1730 and took out a land-warrant for a tract of 500 acres. In later years, by common usage, the name of the Spring and the township became "Silver Spring." The Spring is one of the most beautiful in the Cumberland Valley.

July 8
P. 117

OLLOCK

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A SUCCESSFUL TRADER IN NEW ORLEANS 3

That such a career made no appeal to the adventurous spirit of young Oliver is evident for after two years he returned to Philadelphia where he secured a vessel and crew and persuaded a group of merchants to entrust a cargo to him. Sailing to the West Indies, as many American traders were then wont to do, he began trading from port to port with headquarters at Havana. One of his earliest commissions reads: "You have herewith Inclosed Invoice and Bill of lading for Sundreys amounting to One Hundred and twenty-four Pounds two shill[ings] and sixpence which we desire you may dispose of at whatever Port you meet the best Market and as soon as an opportunity serves. We desire you may send us a Remittance in Dollars or Johanna's. If molasses can be had at 12 pence per gallon would recommend to you to ship us eight hogsheads and some for yourself." ⁵ The following commission was of the same date: "Enclosed you have Invoice and bill of lading for 38 barrels light flour and 16 barrels shipbread which desire you may sell to the best advantage in your Power, at any island you may choose to sell at and remit the proceeds in good molasses if to be had at from 12 d to 14 d pr. same bottom or first opportunity of which shall expect to be advised in Due Time as to make Proper Insurance on. If none of the above Artikles to be had Remit in Dollars or Gold as may be most for Advantage of our Markitt advise as per above." In addition to molasses, he brought to the Philadelphia and New York markets, tea, coffee, spices, and sugar. Flour, rum, lumber and indigo were among the articles listed as suitable for Cuba and Santo Domingo.

His success in disposing of such consignments soon enabled him to secure other vessels and to become an independent trader and merchant attached to an "eminent house" in Havana. In this manner, for five years, he continued to expand his resources. He became proficient, also, in the use of Spanish. As he wrote: "In about eighteen months of assiduous study, with the constant practice of mercantile transactions I became master of it so as to do all my business

⁵ Philadelphia, October 27, 1767. *Pollock Letters*.

without an interpreter." This acquisition was to constitute an important factor in his career, for within a decade he was to become the unofficial and then the official agent of the United States in dealing with the most influential representatives of Spain residing at New Orleans.⁶

While still at Havana, he succeeded in gaining the confidence, among others, of Alejandro O'Reilly, Irish soldier of fortune, who having saved the life of King Charles III during a Madrid insurrection, had been rewarded with the title of count.⁷ Because of distinguished service in the Spanish Army, he had been promoted to the rank of major general and second in command at Havana.⁸ He was regarded as Spain's leading general and as a man of excellent ability, possessed of great knowledge of men as well as of things.⁹

After removing to New Orleans in 1768, center of his later trading ventures, Pollock married Margaret O'Brien. Her ancestors were of the well-known Irish families of Clare and Kennedy of Ormond.

New Orleans then offered unusual opportunities for trade with Havana and other ports on the Atlantic seaboard. It was the chief market, also, for products from the Illinois country. Pollock was prepared to profit to the full from these conditions and his vessels were to be seen, at times, in English, French, and Spanish Continental ports. Moreover, his good fortune was advanced beyond that of any other trader because of the following incident.

On August 17, 1769, General O'Reilly with twenty-four vessels, carrying 2,600 picked and well-armed troops, arrived at New Orleans. He demanded the surrender of the town in con-

⁶ James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of my Own Time*, II, Appendix 1. It may be assumed that he became familiar with French also, since this was the language of most of the inhabitants of Louisiana.

⁷ Pollock was introduced to Count O'Reilly by his good friend Father Butler, President of the Jesuit College. *Ibid.*

⁸ For an excellent account of O'Reilly and his influence, consult John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo De Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (University of California Press, 1934).

⁹ The language of John Jay who met him later in Spain. Justin Winsor, *Westward Movement*, p. 37.

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¹² *Ibid.*

July 8
p. 117

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met him later in Spain. Justin Win-

formity with the treaty of cession made with France whereby
Louisiana was to become a Spanish possession.¹⁰

Spain, seemingly indifferent, had made no effort, until 1766,
to take formal possession of this colony.¹¹ Opposition to the
first Spanish governor, Don Juan Antonio de Ulloa, a well-
known scientist, traveler, and naval officer, but ruler in name
only, was continuous on the part of French leaders. He took
little interest in the performance of his official duties. More-
over, French colonists could not believe that the cession of
Louisiana to Spain had really been consummated. They were
humiliated by the thought that without their consent they
had been bartered to the Spanish king. "As colonists, as
property owners, as members of a civilized society, they were
agitated by all the apprehensions consequent upon a change
of laws, manners, customs, habits, and government."¹² With a
guard of only ninety men, Ulloa was helpless in quelling an

¹⁰ November 3, 1762, the preliminaries of a treaty between France
and Great Britain were agreed upon. Early the following year, ratifica-
tions of the definitive treaty were exchanged. France ceded to Great
Britain all of her possessions east of the Mississippi River with the
exception of the town of New Orleans and the island upon which it
stood. She retained, also, certain small islands on the Canadian coast.
Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain. By separate agreement, Spain
received Louisiana from France. The generally accepted view of this
transaction has been that Spain was given Louisiana as compensation
for the loss of Florida. Interpretation of new evidence has shown that
the cession was, in fact, a bribe proffered by France in order to win the
consent of Spain to "an immediate signing of preliminaries of a peace
that promised all that France could hope for under the circumstances."
Arthur S. Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession," *American
Historical Review* (1931), XXXVI 701-720. Consult also William R.
Shepherd, "The Cession of Louisiana to Spain," *Political Science Quar-
terly* (1904), XIX, 439-458.

¹¹ Throughout the years of French rule, Louisiana had been a bur-
den on her treasury. In the last years, the subsidy amounted annually
to between 800,000 and 900,000 livres. Charles Gayarré, *History of Lou-
isiana* (New Orleans, 1903), II, 73, 78, 82. Reluctance, on the part of
Spain, to take possession of the French gift, was largely due to a knowl-
edge of the great burden which would be imposed on the Spanish
treasury. On the other hand, it was recognized by Spanish officials that
Louisiana would constitute a barrier against the advance of the English.

¹² *Ibid.*, 113.

insurrection which became general among the rank and file of the French. So desperate was the situation that hundreds of persons under well-known leaders from the town and country, assembled in the public square at a time appointed, shouting, "*Vive le Roi de France*." Within three days, following the demand of the Superior Council, Ulloa with his family was forced to seek refuge on board a Spanish frigate which sailed for Havana, November 1, 1768.¹³

But insurgent opposition vanished overnight with the coming of O'Reilly as Governor and Captain General of Louisiana. Great display marked the formal surrender. The scene has been described as follows: "He was received with all the honors due to a captain-general, drums beating, banners waving, and all sorts of musical instruments straining their brazen throats and by their wild and soul-stirring sounds causing the heart to leap and the blood to run electrically through the hot veins. He was preceded by splendidly accoutered men, who bore heavy silver maces; and the whole of his retinue, which was of the most imposing character was well calculated to strike the imagination of the people. The French flag being lowered and the Spanish flying on top of the mast, O'Reilly, attended by Aubry, former French governor, and followed by the officers of both nations perambulated the square, in token of his being in possession of the colony. His suite then followed him to the cathedral where a solemn Te Deum was chanted."¹⁴ But accepting the account of a careful observer who visited New Orleans in 1767, the gorgeous colors of the scene are somewhat dimmed. "The Church," he states, "dedicated to St. Louis had, because of its ruinous condition, not been used as a place of worship since 1766. One of the King's store-houses was used for that purpose."¹⁵

General O'Reilly quickly realized that to capture, with an overwhelming military force, a town of two thousand white

¹³ For an account of the uprising, see *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 297.

¹⁵ Captain Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, ed. F. H. Hodder (Cleveland, 1906), p. 42.

A SUCCESSFUL

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York, 1904), II, 9.

¹⁷ James Wilkinson, *op. d*

¹⁸ Lieutenant General Ga
From *The Correspondence*
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To open communication

July 8
p. 17

A SUCCESSFUL TRADER IN NEW ORLEANS 7

inhabitants and half as many slaves was a far simpler task than it was to supply his troops with necessary provisions.¹⁶ The colony was threatened with famine. Flour quickly rose to \$30 a barrel and was obtained with difficulty at that price. Here was Pollock's opportunity. He had recently arrived on board his ship, the *Royal Charlotte*, with a cargo of flour from Baltimore. The market was under his control but he tendered the flour to the general on the latter's own terms. Fifteen dollars a barrel were finally paid for the flour but for this mark of generosity Pollock was granted freedom of trade in Louisiana. "And I did," he wrote, "enjoy that privilege so long as I staid in the country."¹⁷

At this time, other British traders in New Orleans were complaining bitterly of the restrictive system inaugurated by Spain which prohibited the mooring of their ships on shore and forbade British officers and sailors from setting foot on Spanish soil. How was such a trade handicap to be overcome? For years, British officers gave attention to the problem of a secure communication between West Florida and the Mississippi. "From authentick accounts of the Lands upon the Mississippi," one of them writes, "it can't be doubted that they are rich and fertile, and would yield Rice and Indigo; and this is such a temptation, that People are anxious at all hazards to make settlements upon them; But unless some better communication is discovered with British Territories, there is little appearance that Establishments there would be of much advantage to Great Britain. A strange Situation for British Settlers to be obliged to pass Foreign Garrisons with the Produce of their Plantations or else dispose of it to Foreigners."¹⁸

¹⁶ According to a census made by O'Reilly, 1769, New Orleans contained a population of 3,190. Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), II, 9.

¹⁷ James Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix 1.

¹⁸ Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Hillsborough, July 1, 1772. From *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, ed. Clarence E. Carter (by permission of the Yale University Press, 1931), I, 330.

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P. 192

about it. I remember that his Excellency the Governor told me I could get what I wanted from Mr. Pollock."

His money gone, Clark began drawing drafts upon the Treasurer of Virginia and upon Pollock. The second method proved acceptable to Vigo, Cerré, and all the other merchants and traders.

At the outset, such bills were received and paid at their face value, in silver, by Pollock. In his first communication, a letter of July 18th, Clark writes: "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes and am necessitated to draw bills on the state and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you, the answering of which will be acknowledged by his Excellency, the Governor of Virginia." ¹⁵

Pollock had been instructed by the Commercial Committee of Congress, also, to give all possible assistance to the expedition under Clark, to purchase goods on the best terms, to charter vessels, employ crews, or issue commissions to trustworthy persons for privateering.

Never does Clark fail to accord Pollock full credit for the aid furnished, whereby he was enabled to hold the Illinois country. From General Hand at Pittsburgh, as we have seen, he had received his first supply of ammunition which had been forwarded by Pollock.

Among Clark's first accounts, we find a draft for \$285 drawn on Pollock to provide horses and to cover the other expenses of Father Gibault and Dr. Jean Laffont on their notable journey to Vincennes, where the priest had many friends. During the preceding ten years, he had been in charge of the church in that village in addition to serving parishes at Kaskaskia and Cahokia.

Learning that Clark was planning to capture Vincennes, the priest sought permission to win the support of the inhabitants in a peaceable way. While, as he expressed it, having nothing to do with temporal affairs, he assured Clark "that he

¹⁵ *Clark Papers*, p. 55. The first bill was drawn on Pollock in favor of M. Prate for \$208. It is endorsed, "accepted by O. Pollock, Agt., January 2, 1779. "Clark MSS.," *Va. State Archives*, Aud. 44.

July 8, 1778
p. 192

POLLOCK SUPPORTS CLARK

141

would give them such hints in the spiritual way that would be very conducive to the business." Accompanied by Dr. Lafont, he set out upon this mission on July 14. They took with them an address prepared by Clark for the French at Vincennes, and numerous letters from their friends in Kaskaskia, which assisted materially in gaining their favor. Every effort was to be made to disabuse them of any fears they might have of the conquerors of the Illinois posts. Becoming citizens of the States meant, they were assured, protection for their persons and property and greatly extended commercial privileges. On the other hand, by refusing the offer, they would be forced to withstand the miseries of a war.¹⁶

The mission was completely successful. Early in August, they returned bringing the news that the American flag was floating over the Vincennes post. The additional expense of the expedition was met through further orders drawn on Pollock, amounting to \$1,260.

Captain Leonard Helm was then sent to take command of the militia at Vincennes. Fort Sackville, which dominated the town, was a well-built wooden fort inclosing three acres of ground located on the bank of the Wabash River. The four bastions, each surmounted by three guns, were built of solid logs and stood twelve feet above the level of the fort walls which were eleven feet in height.¹⁷

Clark had succeeded in occupying Kaskaskia and Cahokia and was in control at Vincennes, but could he, removed as he was from any base of supplies, maintain control over this territory? His fund of Continental currency was quickly exhausted. During the summer of 1778, he continued to draw drafts in rapid succession on Pollock for "furnitures" supplied by traders and merchants. By the end of November, these orders amounted to \$18,000.

We find among his earliest disbursements: \$237 to ten men for bringing the boats from Wheeling to Redstone; \$216 for linen to be used as boat covers; \$1,351 for 12,189 pounds of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁷ Clark MSS. (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis).

flour in barrels; \$237 for ten beeves; \$30 for a boat anchor; \$6 for a treat to Capt. Helm's Company; \$10 for four pair handcuffs; and \$57 for hospital supplies.

Bread, flour, salt, meat, and drink were entered in his accounts as necessaries. Their meat supply came through hunting deer, buffalo, elk, and wild hogs. Salt was difficult to obtain and references are numerous of the loss of the winter's hunt because of the lack of salt. Liquors such as whiskey, rum, and taffia were required as a necessary part of the rations. Frequently they were used also in exchange for provisions. At best, the supply of liquors was limited. "I am under the necessity of putting a stop to the men's Rations of Liquor," an officer writes, "in order to purchase provisions. Please send us a little paper by the first opportunity as we can hardly carry on business for [lack of] that article."

Boats must be constructed and log houses built; suitable clothing was lacking and at times, like Washington's followers at Valley Forge, Clark's troops were barefoot and almost naked. "We shall use all our endeavors to furnish your men with necessary clothing," Clark was advised by Governor Henry, "but long experience renders it proper to warn you that our Supplies will be precarious. You cannot therefore be too attentive to the providing them in your own Quarter as far as Skins will enable you to do it. . . . The less you depend for supplies from this Quarter the less will you be disappointed by those impediments distance and a precarious foreign commerce throw in the way." Necessities for campaigning, in addition to food and clothing, included cannon, swivels, rifles, pistols, powder, lead and flints, knives and kettles. Numerous ledger entries show that small amounts of powder were obtained from the French villagers for \$2.00 a pound and lead for \$.50 a pound. The same account shows that bacon cost \$.50 and flour \$.11 a pound and that taffia was \$6.00 a gallon. A day's wage for an armourer, and also for a carpenter, was \$1.60.

That Clark provided for a well-organized commissary department becomes evident, as we read the many pages of his

July 8, 1811
p. 192

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POLLOCK SUPPORTS CLARK

143

accounts with Virginia, including: the contracts drawn for supplies; the receipts for moneys disbursed; the orders on quarter-masters by officers, and the hundreds of vouchers, many of them for articles of even the smallest value.

Among such routine documents are found: "Let this man Have 4 lb. of pork for the people that are going down the River to Traverse the Horses"; "Issue to that Squaw that Furnished our men with Provisions, one Bushel of Corn and five Pounds of Pork"; "Please to issue for the use of the Kaskaskias Indians 40 weight of flour"; "The Commissary of Issues is amediately ordered to prepair one Thousand Rations to have them Ready to Imbark by 12 o'clock"; "Furnish Mr. Edward Murray with five gallons whiskey he having agreed to accept that Quantity in full for his pay as Express from this place"; "As there is a Party of militia going after a Party of Indians as have done mischief you will be pleased for to let me have one Pound of Powder and two Pound of Lead we haveing not a Sufficient quantity for to Persew them."

To meet such demands, orders on Pollock were drawn in favor of Cerré for \$619, another for \$2,000 and a third for \$1,273; in favor of A. Chouteau for \$2,100; of Laffont for \$1,000 and in favor of a score of other well-known villagers, for various sums. From the first, the Charleville brothers, three in number, had coöperated to the full with Clark. The first draft on Pollock received by Charles Charleville was for \$200. This was soon followed by a second for ten times that sum. Even before Clark's arrival, this family, together with the Lachances and the Janises, were of the group who favored the American cause.¹⁸ All were traders whose boats plied between the Illinois country and New Orleans.

Men prominent at Vincennes, after the visit of Gibault, were ready, also, to furnish supplies for Clark's use, receiving, in exchange, orders on Pollock. Francis Bosseron had assisted his father in establishing the most successful trading company

¹⁸ For an excellent summary of the supplies needed by Clark, see James G. Randall, "George Rogers Clark's Service of Supply," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 256-263.

in this village. At twenty-six years of age, upon the death of his father, Francis came into full ownership of the business. So favorably known was the company that their drafts were honored from Montreal and Detroit to Virginia and New Orleans. It seems evident that no persuasion was necessary in winning the allegiance of Bosseron, who was the mayor of the town, to the American cause.

Returning to Kaskaskia, Gibault reported that Bosseron had been elected captain of the militia and commander of the fort, and to him was awarded the first commission issued by Clark in the West. Later, he was made a major. Very early, he was called on to furnish supplies for the Americans, receiving, in exchange, a draft on Pollock.¹⁹ J. M. P. Legras, another well-known trader, followed the lead of Bosseron, and thus Vincennes was won. The following order, in the usual form, proved acceptable to Legras:

KASKASKIAS 2nd Feb^y. 1779

\$1752

SIR

At Thirty Days sight of this my first of Exchange, second of same tenor and date not paid Pay to Mr. Legras or to his Order the Sum of One Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty two Dollars for sundry furnitures to the State of Virginia and Charge as pr. former advice from—

Sir

Your very obdt. Servt,
G. R. CLARK

TO OLLIVER POLLOCK }
Esq^r.
NEW ORLEANS }

Early in August, 1778, the first of Clark's drafts, with an accompanying letter, had been received by Pollock. Forwarding the letter to the Commercial Committee, Pollock writes: "You'll see he is in possession of the Illinois and that he has drawn bills on me with the expectation of my honoring them for the State of Virginia. There is to the amount of 1,000 Dol-

¹⁹ For an interesting account of the career of Major Bosseron and his assistance to Clark, see Janet P. Shaw, *Indiana Mag. of History*, XXV, pp. 204-241.

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POLLOCK

of age, upon the death of his ownership of the business. So many that their drafts were sent to Virginia and New Orleans. Persuasion was necessary in person, who was the mayor of the

ult reported that Bosseron militia and commander of the first commission issued by made a major. Very early, he for the Americans, receiving, M. P. Legras, another well-known of Bosseron, and thus Vinson, in the usual form,

KASKASKIAS 2nd Feb^y. 1779

first of Exchange, second of to Mr. Legras or to his Order hundred and fifty two Dollars of Virginia and Charge as pr.

Sir
Your very obdt. Serv^t,
G. R. CLARK

of Clark's drafts, with an account by Pollock. Forwarding committee, Pollock writes: the Illinois and that he has satisfaction of my honoring them to the amount of 1,000 Dollars. Career of Major Bosseron and his *Indiana Mag. of History*, XXV,

POLLOCK SUPPORTS CLARK

lars already come to hand which I have accepted payable in January next, and if any more are presented I shall accept them payable at the same time as I hope before that you'll have it in your power to furnish me with sufficient funds to wipe off the whole."

He was already obligated to pay \$42,500 on the same date, because of indebtedness accrued on behalf of the general government. His responsibility, at that time, included, also, the \$74,087 secured from Governor Galvez with which arms, ammunition, and supplies had been furnished the frontier posts of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Without present resources with which to meet these obligations, he assures Clark that "the cause in which we are embarked urges me to strain every nerve, and luckily having a number of good Friends have hitherto enabled me to serve my Country. In consequence of this I have accepted your bills." ²⁰ The serious situation with which he was then confronted was enhanced because of the fact that Willing and his men still remained at New Orleans and were dependent upon him for support.

The capture of the Illinois posts was interpreted by Pollock as a step toward opening communication by the Mississippi, securing control of the River posts and possibly Pensacola. In this manner, he hoped to be relieved from the burdens he had assumed on behalf of the American cause. Of the sums he had advanced, \$14,445 had been invested in a cargo of peltries and indigo which he shipped under French colors to France. Goods suitable to the needs of the Commercial Committee were to be taken in exchange. The project proved a total loss for the cargo was seized by an agent of the United States who was stationed at Cape St. Francis. As justification it was claimed that the government was in his debt and that these goods had been shipped by an agent of the United States. "This," wrote Pollock, "was my first reward for serving America."

The British, fearing an expedition under Clark, began to strengthen their fortifications at Natchez and Manchac. In his

²⁰ August 18, 1778. *Draper MSS.*, 48J33.

first communication to Clark, a congratulatory message, Pollock urged the necessity for the capture of these posts before war should be declared between Great Britain and Spain. The task, he thought, could be readily accomplished by a force of three hundred men, for Natchez was defended by only eighty men and Manchac by one hundred—"Both posts are poorly entrenched and I believe keep themselves in readiness for starting on the first alarm or appearance of our troops. But if suddenly surprised in the night they may be made prisoners."

Clark's success was gratifying to Pollock in another respect, as he now found the opportunity to get rid of Willing and his troublesome followers. "I come now to my old grievance," he writes the Commercial Committee, "since he has excused himself by waiting the arrival of a packet which was on its way from the Arcansas supposed to contain letters from you. This packet however is now come to hand without any letters from you and now as little hope of his setting off as ever. What his next pretense for tarrying here will be God knows. But as there is a clear passage for him and his party to go up, part by land and part by water through the Spanish territories and join Colonel Clark, I am determined to stop all supplies in order to get him away."

Although he was "deeply indebted in this part of the world," Pollock had assumed orders drawn by Willing amounting to 11,967 pistoles—"for his men while here, which tho high and unprovided for I was under the necessity of supplying him with, for the Credit of the States in this Gov't."²¹ The ultimatum to Willing states that the sixty men of this party, under the leadership of Lieutenant Robert George and Richard Harrison, were to march through Spanish territory to join Clark.²² The mission upon which these officers had come was to procure the goods held for the general government at New Orleans. These had already been dispatched

²¹ *Pollock Letters*, October 5, 1778.

²² Judged by his letters to Clark, Willing was the sole promoter of this expedition. On September 1, he writes: "Annexed you have a Copy of a Letter I wrote by Lieut. Robert George who I sent off to you with

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July 8, 1778
P. 192

July 8, 1911
P. 192

POLLOCK SUPPORTS CLARK

147

by Pollock under protection of the Spanish flag and were then at St. Louis awaiting orders from General Hand.

Willing, himself, was directed to leave for Philadelphia within ten days. His face was saved through a commission entrusted to him to appear before Congress and acquaint them with conditions in New Orleans. Before his leavetaking, Willing once more tested the generosity of Pollock by drawing on him for 919 pistoles. The sailing of the sloop under Spanish colors upon which Willing embarked was made possible through the assumption by Pollock of two months' pay for the quota of officers and sailors. A portion of the expense he hoped would be covered by a shipment of goods on account of Robert Morris and himself amounting to 5,500 pistoles.

Pollock's relief may be sensed in a communication which he forwarded to Clark: "This step was taken in order to get this party from here which has been living here for a long time at a heavy expense and doing no manner of service to the States. In consequence I have now dispatched them." He assumed the expense of equipping the party with horses and provisions to the amount of 1,000 pistoles.

Permission for the expedition having been secured from Galvez, minute instructions, showing Pollock's intimate knowledge of the route to be followed, were entrusted to the leaders. The sensitiveness of Spanish officials, with whom they would be brought into contact, was carefully protected. At Barataria they were to board an armed schooner which they would find awaiting them—"In consequence, I desire you'll immediately proceed over to that place and embark after which the Captain and pilot on board will directly make sail for the Appelansaa and land you there at the most Convenient place, as soon as wind and weather will permit, they having the necessary orders and directions for that purpose."

my Party consisting of about 60 men and they will either stay with you or proceed immediately according as they May receive Instructions from Genl. Hand or Congress with the State Goods."

Here they were to meet a Mr. Bacon, agent of Pollock, who was to have twenty-five to thirty horses or mules in readiness to carry their baggage and provisions. Two competent guides were also provided. Upon arrival at the Arkansas Post, they were to present to the commandant an order from Pollock for provisions or any other necessities. These drafts amounted to some \$3,500.

Arriving at the Illinois, Lieutenant George was directed to inform Clark "of the necessity of opening the Communication on this River and taking possession of the Country immediately before war should be declared between Great Britain and Spain by which the latter will save us that Trouble and in consequence we will lose a valuable conquest which might now be easily obtained."²³

Bills drawn on Pollock amounting to \$8,500, for aid given Clark, had now reached New Orleans. "You'll find I am in great distress with respect to the payment of those bills," he writes Clark. "Notwithstanding this I have accepted all your bills in full expectation of the States supplying me with funds by the latter end of this year, a disappointment in which will effectually ruin me, and in consequence of which I hope you'll urge the State of Virginia, which seems to be the most convenient, to be speedy in forwarding down flour here to pay for those bills and lodge funds here for any future demands they may have for goods." But the wish was wholly vain.

Notwithstanding his uncertain future, 5,000 pounds of powder were at once dispatched to Clark and during September, 1778, supplies and 2,000 pounds of powder, valued at \$7,200 were likewise sent by him for the use of the Illinois troops. As soon as men could be gotten to man the boats, an additional supply was to follow. Without "hard" dollars, importers refused to dispose of their goods, but Clark's necessities were to be met, in part, by supplies already purchased by Pollock. "Open the communication and commence your flour trade," he implores the Committee, "and then I will

²³ *Draper MSS.*, 48J34.

be able to supply you for that use, as there is no time to lose this Fall."

Conciliation of the Indians, which Clark early began handling this problem of the Northwest. To treat for peace at a like disposition. But the more distant trade.

To meet the need of administrative ability, a diplomat in Indian affairs, entitled.²⁴ Impressed by Spaniards in dealing with their methods and

His chief difficulty was of supplies, for without powder, their hunters' families. Without this could be accomplished real plentiful supplies.

That no assistance be burdened with war, of Governor Henry

It would be well to present want of those to get them, to encourage we do till peace when nothing to put their the meantime, we mention to provide skins do them every friend

Later, Jefferson issued be furnished gratis

²⁴ Kellogg, *Indian* I p. 11.

prevented. Provisions and timber which they were procuring from the Mississippi would likewise be cut off.

Galvez consented, also, to advocate the construction of a fort at the mouth of the Ohio—"I consider the establishment of this fort very useful for facilitating the navigation of the Mississippi River. It will always be of use in restraining the Indian allies of the English who without that aid would more readily dare to molest those traveling from one part to the other."²

Pollock now appealed to Congress for an expedition against Pensacola, which had been devastated by a hurricane, "driving the vessels on shore which were lying at anchor in the harbor and oversetting their fortifications and houses." "In my opinion," he adds, "the free navigation of this river for many reasons is much wanted for the general good of the cause and may just now be very easily accomplished."

Demands on the part of creditors were insistent, but at no time does he acknowledge defeat. An additional financial burden of 4,349 pistoles was assumed in fitting out a vessel for the use of the general government. This action was due to information furnished him that the Committee was lacking vessels and West India products.³ His plan included loading the ship with sugar cases which might be sold at a handsome profit in Havana and taking on taffia, sugar, and salt for Philadelphia. Additional cargo shipped from New Orleans included a supply of indigo valued at 1,378 pistoles. Instructions to the captain included drawing on Pollock for any sum necessary for the loading of the boat at Havana.

By the middle of December, 1778, he had advanced 8,500 pistoles, also, for fitting out the ship *Morris*. For the quota of officers and crew, numbering one hundred and fifty, he likewise became responsible, and, in meeting these obligations, he was forced to dispose of some of his plantation slaves at a discount.

² October 19, 1778. *Pollock Letters*.

³ December 15, 1778. *Ibid*.

"Immediate relief," Congress, in order to be incurred on behalf of the request, the remainder within a month. "Howe note of optimism, "I a upon this occasion to s but you'll soon put it i gagements, as I am inf of our enemies, you'll flour." Six thousand ba disposed of each year and, providing Spain re dred thousand barrels m trade.

Not only had the au Virginia neglected to p to meet their demands him of the method by v ered.⁴ This failure was delphia by the British a moval of government p condition of affairs in C accession of new memb by Alexander Hamilton sentation in the great cause? And how is it to welfare of these States r The great men, who c dead, have they deserte them? Very few are dea cause; they are all, exce gress, either in the field tive States; for the great only remedy then is to

⁴ *Draper MSS.*, 48J37.

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or's Reports, p. 46.

CHAPTER XII

CONTROL OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI

BRITISH leaders, from the opening of the Revolution, were aware of the attitude of Spain toward the colonial cause, but they waited for some overt act. "Though I have no doubt this minute of the existence of a Spanish as well as a French war," Hamilton wrote while in possession of Vincennes, "yet I have as yet, no accounts by which I may venture to act on the offensive against the subjects of Spain, which I ardently desire, as there would be so little difficulty in pushing them entirely out of the Mississippi." Three weeks later, he wrote Galvez protesting against the sale of gunpowder to the Rebels and orders were to be enforced for intercepting, at Natchez, all supplies for Americans which might be sent up the River from New Orleans.¹

The prize ultimately sought by Spain was not the trade of the Mississippi alone, so generously proffered by Governor Henry, but the possession of the entire valley. Pollock was fully aware of this attitude. Over and again he appealed to the Committee of Congress, to Patrick Henry and to George Rogers Clark for an expedition against the British possessions on the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Had his advice been heeded, there need not have followed those years of diplomatic controversy between Spain and the United States relating to the free navigation of the Mississippi River and the possession of West Florida.

Engaged in fitting out in warlike manner the prize ship *Morris*, so named in honor of his friend Robert Morris, a vessel of which he was justly proud, Pollock writes:

¹ *Canadian Archives* (1882), p. 26.

She will mount 16 six pounders upon one deck, 2 Bow and 2 stern chasers, 8 four pounders upon her quarter deck with swivels etc. She sails well and I expect to have her completely fitted out with about one hundred and fifty men on board in about two months ready for sea by which time I expect your orders with respect to her destination or cruize from this place. But my present view is to keep her in readiness to take Sylph sloop of war which is now about twenty leagues above this town on her way to Manchac at which place I am informed she is to stay to protect them. This will be absolutely necessary to have done in order to keep the navigation of this River clear particularly if you have a demand for more goods up this River and should make the expedition against it and Pensacola, she may become a valuable acquisition.²

He urged the Committee to send an expedition against Natchez, defended at that time by a force of 200 men, and against Manchac, having only one half that number. From 800 to 1,000 men, including Indians, constituted the British defense. One thousand Americans would be adequate, he thought, to clear the River of the enemy, and with 3,000, Pensacola could be captured—"But Pensacola is the principal object and if you should determine on this, lose no time in acquainting me that I may have everything wanted ready for that Purpose. I shall have letters lodged for the Commanding Officer at the Arkansas acquainting him with every particular for his Government."

Clark's expedition against the Illinois posts was interpreted by Pollock as a stage toward the conquests to be made on the lower Mississippi. Indeed, rumors were current that three hundred men were descending the River for an attack on Natchez. With Manchac also in the possession of the Americans, Pollock would be free to continue supplying goods for Clark's use.

"I hope," he writes Clark, "on or before the arrival of this Party you'll have it in your Power to open the communication on the Mississippi to this place. . . . Should this or the Expedition against Pensacola take place I hope you'll give me the

² July 8, 1778, *Pollock Letters*.

lies for the equipment of the
dication," he writes Pollock,
est himself in my behalf with
nd have apply'd myself (Both
ot point out to you my dis-
h 'em. If you can be of any
Mr. Morris or otherwise you'l
m in a most desponded Situa-
you doing honor to this small
o Morris acct. for Medicine."
tten of the loan made to him
istress, he asked for an exten-
this obligation, saying: "You
rably pay you the first remit-
he Gentleman who fits me out
any Generosity otherwise I
re long ago and have had it
ge my obligations. However I
ed goodness have a little pa-
ce of what he called "my bad
peevish," or "madness at my
rray to join the pack of sup-
"I enclose you account of the
eral services for the United
n your Department as their
by your particular desire and
uainted with a great part of
ws that led to the whole; and
that you are bound by every
reimburse me these Expendi-
interested principles."
early relief in the report sub-
of Congress. His claims which
amounted to \$58,735. In the
ready been accredited to the
aims considered by the com-

mittee, the largest pertained to three invoices of goods which
were shipped for the account of the United States but were
used by Clark in the Illinois country. William Murray had
been sent from New Orleans by Pollock with special dis-
patches to Congress. But since he did not come on a specific
order from Congress, there was no disposition to include his
expenses as a legitimate claim on the government. In order
to support the honor of the United States, Pollock held \$11,-
133 in Continental money for which he had advanced specie.
This sum, together with a charge of \$5,000 covering his ex-
penses as Continental agent, were to be passed upon by Con-
gress.

Another item submitted to the committee grew out of the
sale of Pollock's property at New Orleans to the amount of
\$45,000. Upon this claim, the report states: "The Committee
can only remark that it appears clearly that the said Pollock
was a man of considerable property in the Country where he
resided and that the United States are largely indebted to
him. They have reason to believe (from information) that he
has been under the necessity of selling his property. If Con-
gress shall be of opinion that he is intitled to this compensa-
tion they will so direct."

Moreover, no part of the \$74,087, the loan made by Galvez
during the year 1778, had been paid. Pollock was now urging
that responsibility for this obligation should no longer be his.

The committee proclaimed his "zeal and his sufferings"
which entitled him to the favorable consideration of Congress
and stated "that a considerable payment ought to be made to
him as soon as the situation of the public finances will per-
mit." Without means for resuming trade, and with the bare
necessities of life for his family contributed by friends, Pol-
lock gained little hope from the resolutions, often repeated,
on the service he had rendered.

At this crisis in his affairs, he was induced to accept the
office of commercial agent for the United States at Havana,
succeeding Robert Smith, recently deceased. This appoint-
ment was more pleasing to him for he would be in position to

coöperate with his friend Galvez, who had been appointed Governor-General of Cuba.¹⁷

His twenty years of intimate association with Spanish officials admirably fitted Pollock to undertake the duties of an office which promised great possibilities for the promotion of American commerce. "Confidence in your ability and training," his credentials state, "we appoint you as our agent of commerce during our pleasure in the City and Port of Havana, to manage what occasions the interests of Congress and to assist the American merchants with your counsel and solicit their business with the Spanish Government and governing yourself to conform with the orders which you will receive from time to time from the United States in Congress assembled."¹⁸

¹⁷ His official title was Don Bernardo de Galvez, Knight of the Royal and distinguished order of Charles III, Commander of Bolanos in the order of Calatravo, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Inspector General of the troops in America, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Louisiana and the two Floridas, and also Governor and Captain General *protempore* of the Island of Cuba and city of St. Christoval de la Havanno, Judge Protector of his Majesty's tobacco revenue, of the packets and Couriers of the Royal Company, etc., etc. In recognition of the services rendered the United States by Galvez, Pollock had secured a portrait of him which he presented to Congress. The acceptance included the provision that it should be placed in the hall in which Congress met.

¹⁸ His appointment bore the date, June 2, 1783. *Pollock Letters*.

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APPENDIX II

OLIVER POLLOCK AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE \$ MARK

I AM indebted to Professor Florian Cajori, formerly of the University of California, for his studies on the "Evolution of the Dollar Mark."¹ The new evidence here presented, gained from a minute study of the correspondence of Oliver Pollock, serves to confirm the conclusion of Professor Cajori, namely; that "the modern dollar mark is a modification of the Mexican sign p^a for pesos, the chief alteration being the lowering of the letter s upon the letter p." The summary by Professor Cajori of the theories previously advanced relative to the origin of the dollar mark are likewise accepted. Chief among the dozen or more of these hypotheses is the United States origin of the \$. But no evidence has been submitted to show that this symbol originated from the superposition of the S upon the U. For a like reason, the combination of HS or IIS, abbreviations for the Roman *Sestertius*, to produce the \$ cannot be accepted.²

The leading argument of Professor Cajori, that the transition from ps to our dollar mark was made by the English-speaking people who came into contact with the Spaniards, was based on his study of a single communication from Oliver Pollock to George Rogers Clark, August 29, 1778.³

From a study of a large number of documents pertaining to the financial career of Pollock preceding the date, August 29, 1778, the one cited by Professor Cajori, the transition from ps to \$ becomes clear.

In the letters addressed to Pollock by his correspondents in Philadelphia and Richmond, prior to 1775, we find the common forms to be the usual symbols for pounds, shillings and pence.

¹ Florian Cajori, *Popular Science Monthly*, 81: pp. 522-530; *The Scientific Monthly*, 29: 216; *Science*, N. S., 38: pp. 848-850. Quoted with permission from "The Science Press" Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa. The Spanish dollar was known as "peso" and "piastre"; plural, pesos and piastres.

² For a complete statement, consult Cajori, "New Data on the Origin and Spread of the Dollar Mark," *The Scientific Monthly*, XXIX, pp. 212, 213.

³ Professor Cajori was not correct in his statement that the \$ was used only a few times in eighteenth-century documents and that none of these was earlier than the letter of August 29, 1778.

APPENDIX

One of these early orders reads: "Inc Bill of Loading, [sic] for 10 Baralls of 9-10." ⁴ This form was also used: "Invoice & Bill of lading for Sundreys & Twenty four Pounds two Shill. & S may dispose of at whatever Port you Soon as an oppty serves we desire you in Dollars or Johanna's." ⁵ Early in tions Dollrs, Dolls. drs, and ds comm his correspondents on the lower M glad you wou'd let Mr. James Rums them wrote, "four Hundred dollrs. i next Fall in Cash or Peltries." ⁶ In the purchase, is found: "This Tract of poses to Sell for 1000 Doll^{rs}. ready pose of it for 500 Doll^{rs}. Cash, & the Months." ⁷

In the first formal statement of a of Pollock, January 9, 1775, is to b (page 358).⁸ Thereafter, the symbol accounts. It was made by a continu p with the s above.

In the next, Figure 2, is to be se tion ending with the s being brow mark preceding 165 of the first line 252 there is the same formation as initial up stroke of the p appearing

By April 1, 1778, Pollock had a the dollar which varies only slight is of significance to note that this, bill rendered by Pollock for a co value of which amounted to \$134 the Committee of Congress. The Robert Morris, William Smith, professor Cajori declares, Robert M

⁴ Philadelphia, July 3, 1767. Benjamin Pollock Letters.

⁵ Philadelphia, October 27, 1767. William

⁶ Natchez, February 16, 1775. Isaac Jo

⁷ February 17, 1775. *Ibid.*

⁸ The bill was evidently drawn as dir

⁹ October 8, 1776. Oliver Pollock, de year 1777, there are numerous letters in Manchac which show the transition patrick, 1768-1790, MSS. New York Pu

One of these early orders reads: "Inclosed you have Invoice and Bill of Loading, [sic] for 10 Baralls of Flouar amounting to £20—9—10."⁴ This form was also used: "You have herewith Inclosed Invoice & Bill of lading for Sundreys amounting to One Hundred & Twenty four Pounds two Shill. & Sixpence which we desire you may dispose of at whatever Port you meet the best Market & as Soon as an oppty serves we desire you may send us a Remittance in Dollars or Johanna's."⁵ Early in 1775, we find the abbreviations Dollrs, Dolls. drs, and ds commonly used by Pollock and by his correspondents on the lower Mississippi. "I shou'd be very glad you wou'd let Mr. James Rumsey have on my acc.^t," one of them wrote, "four Hundred dollrs. in negroes and I will pay you next Fall in Cash or Peltries."⁶ In the statement regarding a land purchase, is found: "This Tract of 1000 Acres Capt Barbut proposes to Sell for 1000 Doll^r., ready Money or rather than not dispose of it for 500 Doll^r., Cash, & the remaining 500 Doll^r., in Six Months."⁷

In the first formal statement of an account rendered on behalf of Pollock, January 9, 1775, is to be seen the use of *ps*, Figure 1 (page 358).⁸ Thereafter, the symbol *ps* is commonly used in other accounts. It was made by a continuous motion of the pen, as in *p* with the *s* above.

In the next, Figure 2, is to be seen the same method of formation ending with the *s* being brought down on the *p* as in the mark preceding 165 of the first line. In the second line, preceding 252 there is the same formation as in Figure 1 (page 358), with the initial up stroke of the *p* appearing.⁹

By April 1, 1778, Pollock had adopted the use of the mark for the dollar which varies only slightly from the one now current. It is of significance to note that this, Figure 3 (page 358), appears in a bill rendered by Pollock for a consignment of merchandise, the value of which amounted to \$1347. These goods were shipped to the Committee of Congress. The members of this committee were Robert Morris, William Smith, and Henry Laurens. If, as Professor Cajori declares, Robert Morris was the first "high official

⁴ Philadelphia, July 3, 1767. Benjamin Harbeson to Oliver Polaoch [sic], *Pollock Letters*.

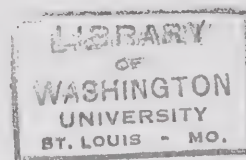
⁵ Philadelphia, October 27, 1767. Wills C. Jackson to Mr. Ollr. Pollock. *Ibid.*

⁶ Natchez, February 16, 1775. Isaac Johnson to Oliver Pollock. *Ibid.*

⁷ February 17, 1775. *Ibid.*

⁸ The bill was evidently drawn as directed by Pollock.

⁹ October 8, 1776. Oliver Pollock, debtor to John Jennings. Throughout the year 1777, there are numerous letters available from Pollock's correspondents in Manchac which show the transition from *ps* to \$. *Letter Book of John Fitzpatrick*, 1768-1790, MSS. New York Public Library.



NDIX II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE \$ MARK

Florian Cajori, formerly of the r his studies on the "Evolution of y evidence here presented, gained correspondence of Oliver Pollock, n' of Professor Cajori, namely; that modification of the Mexican sign p^a being the lowering of the letter s amary by Professor Cajori of the relative to the origin of the dollar chief among the dozen or more of d States origin of the \$. But no o show that this symbol originated S upon the U. For a like reason, IS, abbreviations for the Roman not be accepted.²

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Monthly, 81: pp. 522-530; *The Scientific* pp. 848-850. Quoted with permission from ny, Lancaster, Pa. The Spanish dollar was al, pesos and piastres.

lt Cajori, "New Data on the Origin and *Scientific Monthly*, XXIX, pp. 212, 213.

in his statement that the \$ was used *only* uments and that *none of these* was earlier

In acco^t. With Oliver Pollock Cr^s

1775
Jan^y. By Cash Rec^d \$^s 51.⁰⁰

FIGURE 1

|	<i>Balance Due John Jennings</i>	<i>\$^s 145.</i>	<i>6-</i>
		<i>\$^s 252.</i>	<i>5-</i>

FIGURE 2

Carried over

<i>\$ 1347.</i>	<i>7 1/2</i>
-----------------	--------------

FIGURE 3

APPENDI

of the United States Government" to probable that he was induced to d fluence.

This discussion has sought to emp was derived from the abbreviation Pollock in his correspondence and more than any other person of that symbol into general usage. The dol unit by the Continental Congress in after that of the Spanish dollar th of the Committee of Congress stated of the Money Unit is a question not that most of the citizens of the U. Pounds, Shillings, and Pence; and Values in the different States, hence The money of the U. S. should b July 6, 1785, Congress took up and the resolution: "That the mon be one dollar," was passed unanim dollars were coined in 1794. The c printed form in 1797.¹²

¹⁰ *Four. of the Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, P 11 *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 500.

¹² *Report of the Commissioner of Edu* by Pollock of the mark \$ where the sing of a letter from Pollock to George R [8550-4]. Dollars and ps are used interc

of the United States Government" to use the dollar mark, it seems probable that he was induced to do so because of Pollock's influence.

This discussion has sought to emphasize the view that the \$ mark was derived from the abbreviation *ps* for pesos and that Oliver Pollock in his correspondence and business forms contributed more than any other person of that period towards bringing this symbol into general usage. The dollar was adopted as the money unit by the Continental Congress in 1785. Its weight was modeled after that of the Spanish dollar then in circulation. The report of the Committee of Congress stated: "The most convenient Value of the Money Unit is a question not easily determined considering that most of the citizens of the U. S. are accustomed to count in Pounds, Shillings, and Pence; and that those sums are of different Values in the different States, hence they convey no distinct ideas. The money of the U. S. should be equally fitted to all."¹⁰ On July 6, 1785, Congress took up the report of this Committee and the resolution: "That the money unit of the U. S. of America be one dollar," was passed unanimously.¹¹ The first United States dollars were coined in 1794. The dollar mark, \$, first appeared in printed form in 1797.¹²

¹⁰ *Jour. of the Cont. Cong.*, XXVIII, p. 355.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXIX, p. 500.

¹² *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1897-98, I, p. 812. The first use by Pollock of the mark \$ where the single stroke is used, I found in the body of a letter from Pollock to George Rogers Clark, dated August 29, 1778 [\$8550.4]. Dollars and *ps* are used interchangeably in this letter.

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

Carried over

BANCO DE PORTUGAL
Divisão de Estatística e Estudos Económicos

LEGISLAÇÃO
DO
BANCO DE PORTUGAL

Volume IV

(2.^a REFORMA: 4-XII-1891 a 29-IV-1918)

1946

Decreto de 31 Março de 1911

Decreto provendo o cargo de Governador Geral do Banco de Portugal.

Attendendo aos merecimentos e mais circumstancias que concorrem na pessoa de Innocencio Camacho Rodrigues, Secretario Geral do Ministerio das Finanças e Director Geral da Fazenda Publica: Hei por bem nomeal-o para o logar de Governador Geral do Banco de Portugal, vago pela exoneração de José Adolpho de Mello e Sousa, decretada em 21 de Outubro de 1910.

Paços do Governo da Republica, em 31 de Março de 1911.
— O Ministro das Finanças, *José Relvas*.

No Diario do Governo de 3 de Abril, n.º 76.

Decreto de 22 de Maio de 1911

Decreto com fôrça de lei remodelando o systema monetario.

O nosso actual systema monetario apresenta grandes defeitos, que tornam indispensavel a sua substituição. Estes defeitos referem-se principalmente á unidade monetaria, ao toque das moedas de ouro e prata e ao material, peso e dimensões das moedas de 20, 10 e 5 réis. É o que vamos ver em seguida, indicando ao mesmo tempo as modificações convenientes.

A nossa unidade monetária, o real, tem um valor muito pequeno, nada parecido com os valores das unidades monetarias dos diversos paizes, geralmente iguaes ou superiores a um franco. D'esta circumstancia resulta ser necessario empregar um grande numero de algarismos para representar na escrita uma quantia, mesmo relativamente pouco importante, o que tem o duplo inconveniente, de originar grandes perdas de tempo e induzir os estrangeiros em erro, na apreciação dos valores expressos em moeda portugueza. Para remediar este inconveniente propomos que se adopte como nova unidade monetaria o escudo de ouro, moeda que conterà o mesmo peso de ouro fino que a actual moeda de 17000 réis em ouro, á qual será portanto inteiramente equivalente. O escudo dividir-se-ha em 100 partes iguaes, denominadas centavos, correspondendo assim um centavo a 10 réis do actual systema.

Como multiplos do escudo, cunhar-se-hão moedas de 2, 5 e 10 escudos, todas de ouro, as quaes equivalerão evidentemente ás actuaes moedas de 2, 5 e 10 mil réis; e como sub-multiplos, moedas de prata do valor legal de 50, 20 e 10 centavos que cor-

responderão respectivamente ás actuaes moedas de 500, 200 e 100 réis, e moedas subsidiarias de bronze-nickel, do valor legal de 4, 2, 1 e 0,5 centavos, correspondentes respectivamente á antiga moeda de 40 réis, e ás actuaes moedas de 20, 10 e 5 réis. Além d'estas moedas, cunhar-se-hão ainda moedas de prata do valor legal de um escudo.

O systema de moedas que acabamos de mencionar remedia o inconveniente acima apresentado; além d'isto, é manifesto que a sua adopção não envolverá quaesquer difficuldades, mesmo para as pessoas menos illustradas. N'isto consiste uma das suas grandes vantagens.

As nossas actuaes moedas de ouro e as de prata de 500 e 1.000 réis teem o toque de 916 $\frac{2}{3}$ por mil; e as de 50, 100 e 200 réis o de 835. Hoje quase todos os paizes adoptam o toque de 900 para as moedas de ouro e para as moedas de prata de grandes dimensões, e o de 835 para as restantes moedas de prata. A propria Inglaterra adoptou o toque de 900 para as moedas de ouro do Canadá, pela Lei de 4 de Maio de 1910. Além d'isto, experiencias diversas, sobretudo as feitas na Casa da Moeda de Paris, teem mostrado que as ligas de 900 e 835 são superiores á de 916 $\frac{2}{3}$, sob o ponto de vista do desgaste produzido pela circulação, circumstancia esta de grande importancia economica. Por esses motivos, fixaremos em 900 millesimos o toque das moedas de ouro e dos escudos de prata e em 835 millesimos o das moedas de 50, 20 e 10 centavos. Apesar de serem de toques diversos, a actual moeda de 1.000 réis em ouro e o escudo de ouro conteem, como dissemos, a mesma quantidade de ouro fino, tendo assim logar as correspondencias acima enunciadadas. Podemos ainda notar que a libra esterlina, cujo curso legal se acha auctorizado no nosso paiz, vale no novo systema monetario 4,5 escudos, ouro, relação tambem muito simples e inteiramente equivalente á actual relação em réis.

As actuaes moedas de bronze de 20, 10 e 5 réis são muito volumosas e pesadas. Convem, por isso, substitui-las por outras

mais pequenas e de outra liga, á semelhança do que se está fazendo nos diversos paizes. Propomos para isso o emprego de uma liga de bronze e nickel na razão de 75 por cento e 25 por cento respectivamente. Esta liga, muito semelhante á de cobre e nickel empregada n'algumas das nossas actuaes moedas de 50 e 100 réis, tem bom aspecto, não se oxyda e resiste bem ao desgaste da circulação; além d'isto, é economica, porque nos permite aproveitar o bronze das actuaes moedas de 20, 10 e 5 réis e o nickel existente na Casa da Moeda.

Assentes as bases de reforma monetaria, analysemos agora o problema sobre o ponto de vista financeiro.

Baseando-se o nosso systema monetario no principio do monometallismo-ouro, em uso na maior parte dos systemas monetarios modernos, e cujas vantagens não podem ser postas em duvida, será illimitada e facultada aos particulares a cunhagem das moedas de ouro e limitada e reservada para o Estado a das moedas das outras especies.

A importancia das moedas de prata actualmente em circulação regula por 33.400:000.000 réis, não incluindo n'esta conta as moedas dos centenarios da India, Marquez de Pomal e Guerra Peninsular; e as moedas de bronze e cobre-nickel em cêrca de 3.900:000.000 réis. A primeira d'estas importancias não é exagerada para as necessidades do paiz; o mesmo, porém, já não acontece com a segunda, sendo Portugal o paiz em que a circulação media, por habitante, das moedas subsidiarias é mais elevada. Por estes motivos, modificamos um pouco aquelles numeros fixando em 35.000:000.000 réis e 3.750:000.000 réis, respectivamente, os limites da cunhagem e emissão das novas moedas de prata e bronze-nickel.

A recunhagem das moedas de ouro não dá evidentemente lucro algum para o Estado, não havendo, por isso, grande vantagem em proceder immediatamente a esta operação.

O mesmo acontece, sensivelmente, com as moedas de bronze-nickel. Assim, suppondo que, na recolha da moeda, não

aparecerão á troca 10 por cento do respectivo total circulante; a conta da amoedação do bronze-nickel é como segue, em numeros redondos:

RECEITA			
Importancia da amoedação	3.750:000\$000		
Venda de 758:000 kilogramas de bronze provenientes da recolha das moedas, a 240 réis o kilogramma	182:000\$000	3.932:000\$000	
DESPEZA			
Recolha da moeda de bronze	2.083:000\$000		
Idem da de nickel	1.403:000\$000		
107:287 kilogrammas de cobre-nickel existente na Casa da Moeda, a 400 réis o kilogramma	43:000\$000		
Compra de 162:000 kilogrammas de nickel, a 900 réis o kilogramma	146:000\$000	3.675:000\$000	
Lucro		257:000\$000	

A cunhagem das moedas de bronze-nickel não dá pois lucro sensível, attendendo a que no quadro precedente não se acham incluídas as despesas de amoedação.

A recunhagem das moedas de prata, ao contrario das de ouro e bronze-nickel, dá um lucro importante como mostra o quadro seguinte, onde também supomos que não aparecerá á troca 10 por cento do respectivo total circulante:

RECEITA			
Importancia da amoedação	35.000:000\$000		
DESPEZA			
Recolha da moeda de prata	30.100:000\$000		
Compra de 70:330 kilogrammas de prata a 17\$800 réis o kilogramma	1.252:000\$000		
Idem de 71:572 kilogrammas de cobre, a 268 réis o kilogramma	19:000\$000	31.371:000\$000	
Lucro		3.629:000\$000	

No quadro anterior não contamos com as despesas de amoedação, que são na verdade muito importantes, pois que, faltando na Casa da Moeda os necessarios dados estatísticos, e não tendo ainda os preços de algumas das machinas que será necessario adquirir, aquellas despesas não podem ser calculadas desde já com a devida precisão. É porém de crer que ellas não excedam 400:000\$000 réis, além da dotação ordinaria da Casa da Moeda, podendo por isso contar-se, na amoedação da prata, com um lucro liquido não inferior a 3.200:000\$000 réis.

Em vista do que fica dito propomos que se comece a reforma monetaria pela amoedação da prata.

Nestes termos:

O Governo Provisorio da Republica Portuguesa faz saber que em nome da Republica se decretou, para valer como Lei, o seguinte:

Artigo 1.º Em todo o territorio da Republica, com excepção da India, a unidade monetaria é o escudo de ouro, que conterà o mesmo pezo de ouro fino que a actual moeda de 1\$000 réis em ouro. D'esta sorte, a razão de equivalencia do actual systema monetario e do novo systema será de 1\$000 réis, ouro, por um escudo.

Art. 2.º Serão cunhadas e emittidas moedas de ouro de 10, 5, 2 e 1 escudos, cujas equivalencias em réis, diâmetros, pezos, toque e tolerancias constam do quadro seguinte:

Designação das moedas	Equivalencias no actual systema — Réis	Diâmetros — Milímetros	Toque		Pezos		Tolerancia para o desgaste abaixo da tolerancia minima do fabrico — Millesimos
			Toque legal — Millesimos	Tolerancia — Millesimos	Pezo legal — Grammas	Tolerancia de fabrico — Millesimos	
10 escudos.	10\$000	30	900	±2	18,0650	±2	5
5 escudos.	5\$000	24			9,0325		
2 escudos.	2\$000	19			3,6130		
1 escudo..	1\$000	15			1,8065		

Estas moedas serão serrilhadas, terão no anverso uma composição ou figura symbolica com a legenda «Republica Portuguesa» e a era da cunhagem em algarismos e no reverso o escudo nacional e a designação do valor.

§ unico. Será aberto concurso entre os artistas nacionaes para os modelos e gravuras das faces d'estas moedas.

Art. 3.º A cunhagem e emissão das moedas de ouro serão illimitadas. Os particulares, bancos e quaesquer outras corporações poderão fazer amoechar na Casa da Moeda quaesquer porções de ouro, segundo os typos estabelecidos no artigo anterior. A Casa da Moeda fixará a tarifa da troca das moedas de ouro estrangeiras e barras de ouro por moedas nacionaes, precedendo auctorização do Governo.

Art. 4.º Continuarão a ter curso legal no territorio da Republica com os valores de 4,5 e 2,25 escudos, respectivamente, as moedas de ouro inglezas, denominadas soberanos e meios soberanos, do toque de 916 2/3 e de pezos eguaes a 7^g,98805 e 3^g,99402.

§ unico. Admittem-se para estas moedas as tolerancias indicadas no artigo 2.º para as moedas nacionaes.

Art. 5.º O escudo dividir-se-ha em cem partes eguaes, denominadas centavos, correspondendo assim um centavo a dez réis do actual systema monetario.

Art. 6.º Serão cunhadas e emitidas moedas de prata dos valores legaes de um escudo, cincoenta, vinte e dez centavos, cujas equivalencias em réis, diametro, toque, pezos e tolerancias são indicadas no quadro seguinte :

Designação das moedas	Equivale- ncias no actual systema Réis	Dia- me- tros Milli- me- tros	Toque		Pezos		Tolerancia para o desgaste abaixo da tolerancia minima do fabrico Millesimos
			Toque legal Mille- simos	Tolere- ncia — Mille- simos	Pezo legal Grammas	Tolerancia — Millesimos	
1 escudo..	1\$000	37	900	+2	25,000	+3	10
50 centavos	\$500	30	835	+3	12,500	+5	50
20 centavos	\$200	24			5,000		
10 centavos	\$100	19			2,500		

Estas moedas serão serrilhadas, terão no anverso uma composição ou figura symbolica com a legenda «Republica Portuguesa» e a era da cunhagem em algarismos, e no reverso o escudo nacional e a designação do valor.

§ unico. Os modelos e gravuras das faces d'estas moedas, para que tambem se abrirá concurso entre os artistas nacionaes, deverão distinguir-se dos destinados ás moedas de ouro.

Art. 7.º A cunhagem e emissão das moedas de prata, exclusivamente reservadas para o Estado, não poderão exceder as importancias fixadas no quadro seguinte :

Designação das moedas	Numero de moedas	Importancias — Escudos
1 escudo	5.000:000	5.000:000
50 centavos.....	50.000:000	25.000:000
20 centavos.....	15.000:000	3.000:000
10 centavos.....	20.000:000	2.000:000
Total.....	90.000:000	35.000:000

Art. 8.º Ninguem poderá ser obrigado a receber, em qualquer pagamento, seja qual for a sua importancia e proveniencia, mais do que dez escudos em moeda de prata.

Art. 9.º Serão cunhadas e emitidas moedas de bronze-nickel dos valores legaes de 4, 2, 1 e 0,5 centavos, cujas equivalencias em réis, diametros, pezos toque e tolerancias são indicadas no quadro seguinte :

Designação das moedas	Equivalecias no actual systema — Réis	Diametros — Milímetros	Toque		Pezos	
			Toque legal — Millesimos	Tolerancia — Millesimos	Peso legal — Grammas	Tolerancia — Millesimos
4 centavos.....	40	23	bronze 75 nickel 25	+10	5:000	+15
2 centavos.....	20	21			4:000	
1 centavo	10	19			3:000	
0,5 centavo	5	17			2:000	

Estas moedas não serão serrilhadas, terão no anverso uma composição ou figura symbolica com a legenda «Republica Portuguesa» e a era da cunhagem em algarismos; e do reverso a designação no valor, devidamente ornamentado. Os primeiros tres milhões de cada uma d'estas especies de moeda terão ornamentação differente das restantes e a data de 5 de Outubro de 1910, em commemoração da proclamação da Republica.

§ unico. Abrir-se-ha igualmente concurso entre os artistas portugueses para os modelos e gravuras das faces d'estas moedas.

Art. 10.º A cunhagem e emissão das moedas de bronze-nickel são exclusivamente reservadas para o Estado e não poderão exceder os limites fixados no quadro seguinte:

Designação das moedas	Numero de moedas	Importancias — Escudos
4 centavos.....	25.000:000	1.000:000
2 centavos.....	100.000:000	2.000:000
1 centavo.....	50.000:000	500:000
0,5 centavo.....	50.000:000	250:000
Total	225.000:000	3.750:000

§ unico. Ninguém poderá ser obrigado a receber em qualquer pagamento, seja qual fôr a sua importancia e origem mais do que um escudo em moedas de bronze-nickel.

Art. 12.º É o Governo auctorizado a mandar recolher as actuaes moedas de ouro, prata, cobre-nickel e bronze, que serão trocadas por especies correspondentes do novo systema, segundo as equivalencias mencionadas nos artigos 2.º, 6.º e 9.º.

§ unico. Exceptuam-se da disposição d'este artigo as moedas commemorativas dos centenários da India, Guerra Peninsular e Marquez de Pombal, que continuarão em circulação, segundo as equivalencias designadas no artigo 6.º.

Art. 13.º A cunhagem a que se refere o art. 7.º será effectuada no prazo de tres a quatro annos, a contar da data da

publicação d'esta Lei, melhorando-se para isso convenientemente os meios de que dispõe a Casa da Moeda.

§ unico. O Governo abrirá por conta dos lucros da amoeção os créditos necessários para a execução d'este artigo.

Art. 14.º É o Governo auctorizado a adquirir em concurso publico a prata, cobre e nickel necesarios para a cunhagem a que se refere o artigo anterior, e a vender, tambem em concurso publico, os metaes existentes na Casa da Moeda e os provenientes da recolha das moedas actuaes, que não forem precisos para a referida cunhagem.

Art. 15.º O Governo publicará as instrucções necessárias para a completa execução d'esta Lei, e determinará opportunamente o anno economico em que a contabilidade publica começará a ser feita segundo o novo systema monetário.

Art. 16.º Fica revogada toda a legislação em contrario.

Determina-se portanto que todas as auctoridades, a quem o conhecimento e a execução do presente Decreto com força de lei pertencer, o cumpram e façam cumprir e guardar tão inteiramente como n'elle se contém.

O Ministro das Finanças o faça imprimir, publicar e correr. — Dado nos Paços do Governo da Republica, em 22 de Maio de 1911. — *Joaquim Theophilo Braga — Antonio José d'Almeida — Bernardino Machado — José Relvas — Antonio Xavier Correia Barreto — Amaro de Azevedo Gomes — Manuel de Brito Camacho.*

No Diario do Governo de 26 de Maio, n.º 122.

Nota. — Na numeração dos artigos ha o salto do 11.º, passando a numeração de 10.º a 12.º, conforme se vê no *Diario do Governo*.

Decreto de 29 de Março de 1913

Decreto designando o vogal do Conselho de Administração do Banco de Portugal que, na qualidade de Vice-Governador, deve substituir nos seus impedimentos o respectivo Governador.

Usando da faculdade que me confere o n.º 4.º do artigo 47.º da Constituição Política da República Portuguesa: Hei por bem, sobre proposta do Presidente do Ministério e Ministro das Finanças, baseada na lista tríplice que lhe foi apresentada, de conformidade com a condição 33.ª do Contrato celebrado com o Banco de Portugal, em 10 de Dezembro de 1887, designar o vogal do Conselho de Administração do mesmo Banco, Augusto José da Cunha, para, na qualidade de Vice-Governador, substituir nos seus impedimentos o Governador do referido Banco, nos termos da mencionada condição 33.ª.

O Presidente do Ministério e Ministro das Finanças assim o tenha entendido e faça executar. — Paços do Governo da República, em 29 de Março de 1913. — *Manuel de Arriaga* — *Afonso Costa*.

No Diário do Governo de 1 de Abril, n.º 75.

Lei de 21 de Junho de 1913

Lei remodelando o sistema monetário.

Em nome da Nação, o Congresso da República decreta, e eu promulgo, a Lei seguinte:

Artigo 1.º A partir de 1 de Julho de 1913, a contabilidade pública será feita conforme o sistema monetário estabelecido pelo Decreto de 22 de Maio de 1911, que fica revisto e confirmado com as alterações constantes da presente Lei.

§ 1.º Os documentos de particulares, que forem exarados desde a mesma data, só valerão em juízo ou nas repartições públicas, sendo escriturados de harmonia com o novo sistema monetário.

§ 2.º Se em quaisquer documentos, públicos ou particulares, houver necessidade de fazer referência a contas ou operações descritas anteriormente conforme o antigo sistema monetário, será obrigatório consignar a equivalência dessas contas ou operações conforme o novo sistema.

Art. 2.º Das moedas de bronze-níquel, cujas cunhagem e emissão foram autorizadas pelo artigo 9.º do citado Decreto, é eliminada a de 0,5 centavos, e da mesma forma, na contabilidade pública, é defeso o emprêgo de algarismos à direita do indicador dos centavos.

§ 1.º Subsistem as moedas de 5 réis com o valor de meio centavo para as transacções entre particulares.

§ 2.º Os diâmetros e pesos das moedas de bronze-níquel de 1, 2 e 4 centavos ficam reduzidos aos que no mesmo Decreto

estavam respectivamente indicados para as moedas de 0,5, 1 e 2 centavos.

§ 3.º No orçamento respectivo inscrever-se-há como receita extraordinária do Estado a importância de 75.250.000 em que se computa a economia resultante da execução do parágrafo anterior.

Art. 3.º A partir da referida data, em todas as repartições liquidadoras de receitas e despesas do Estado se praticará de conformidade com o disposto no artigo anterior, efectuando-se os arredondamentos necessários, quanto às primeiras, aumentando um centavo sempre que das operações divisionárias resultem milésimos de escudo, e, quanto às segundas, da mesma forma se o algarismo dêste fôr 6 ou superior, e desprezando-o quando menor.

Art. 4.º Como designação de *escudos* empregar-se-há o sinal ₤ (cifrão), no mesmo lugar em que antigamente se usava como indicador de *mil réis*, devendo escrever-se sempre qualquer quantitativo de centavos com dois algarismos, e sendo meramente facultativo o complemento por meio de dois zeros (00) das duas casas à direita dos escudos, quando não houver centavos.

§ 1.º O cifrao (¤) lêr-se há *escudos* quando empregado no fim ou dentro dum número, sendo por isso desnecessária a escrita de qualquer outro sinal ou palavra.

§ 2.º Os milhares de escudos poderão também designar-se por *contos* desde que a esta palavra se não acrescente qualquer ou restritiva; e na escrita serão separados por um ponto (.) da classe seguinte de algarismos terminada pelo cifrao (¤), a qual sempre se preencherá embora seja toda constituída por zeros (.000¤).

§ 3.º Os milhões de escudos serão separados por dois pontos (:), e poderão também designar-se *mil contos*.

§ 4.º As importancias inferiores a 1 escudo serão representadas na escrita pelo cifrao (¤) precedido ou não dum zero (0) e seguido dos algarismos indicadores da quantidade de cen-

tavos, ou simplesmente por estes desde que à direita e ao alto do respectivo número se inscreva a abreviatura *ctvos.*

§ 5.º O disposto no parágrafo anterior é obrigatório para a contabilidade pública, sendo permitido para as transacções entre particulares o representar pelo algarismo 5 escrito à direita dos que representarem os centavos ou fracções de centavos.

Art. 5.º Pelas diversas Direcções Gerais do Ministério das Finanças, cada uma nos serviços privativos da sua jurisdição, serão tomadas as providencias necessárias para a rigorosa observancia da presente Lei.

§ 1.º Com a Junta do Crédito Público, pelo que respeita aos títulos da dívida pública, e com o Banco de Portugal, quanto às suas notas, concertará o Govêrno a forma e o prazo dentro dos quais se deve realizar a mudança da nomenclatura monetária.

§ 2.º Pelas Direcções Gerais de Instrução, no Ministério do Interior, se providenciará para que, a partir do próximo ano lectivo, no ensino primário e onde mais fôr mester, seja explicado o novo sistema monetário e adoptada a sua escrita de acôrdo com a presente Lei.

Art. 6.º É suprimida a partir de 1 de Julho de 1913 a portagem nas pontes da Portela e Angeja.

Art. 7.º A partir da mesma data é suprimida também a portagem de 5 réis devida pela passagem a pé na ponte D. Luís (Pôrto); e é autorizado o Govêrno a suprimir ou a transformar a portagem da mesma importância devida por passageiros de quaisquer veículos, e bem assim a remodelar os preços das demais espécies de portagem por fórma que a diminuição de receita resultante da applicação desta disposição não seja superior a 50 por cento.

Art. 8.º O Govêrno poderá modificar ou autorizar que se modifiquem, sem encargo para o Estado e de acôrdo com os respectivos interessados, as condições e prazos das portagens em todas as outras pontes, onde ainda se cobrem por lei ou contrato, tendo em vista as disposições da presente Lei.

Art. 9.º Fica revogada a legislação em contrario.

Os Ministros de todas as Repartições o façam imprimir, publicar e correr. — Dada nos Paços do Govêrno da República, em 21 de Junho de 1913. — *Manuel de Arriaga — Afonso Costa — Rodrigo José Rodrigues — Alvaro de Castro — João Pereira Bastos — José de Freitas Ribeiro — Antonio Caetano Macieira Junior — Antonio Maria da Silva — Artur R. de Almeida Ribeiro.*

No Diário do Govêrno de 23 de Junho, n.º 144.

Lei de 30 de Junho de 1913

Lei orçamental do Ministério das Finanças.

Em nome da Nação, o Congresso da República decreta, e eu promulgo, a Lei seguinte:

.....
 Artigo 4.º O regime das notas representativas da prata, regulado pelo Decreto de 17 de Outubro de 1910 e confirmado pelo Decreto da Assembléa Nacional Constituinte de 23 de Agosto de 1911, subsistirá até nova resolução do Poder Legislativo.

O Ministro das Finanças a faça imprimir, publicar e correr. — Dada nos Paços do Govêrno da República, em 30 de Junho de 1913. — *Manuel de Arriaga — Afonso Costa.*

No Diário do Govêrno de 1 de Julho, n.º 151.

NUNES, Eduardo - História portuguesa do cifrão.-

In: Varia paleographica maiora ac minora, p.17-27.-

Sep. Portugaliae Historica, Lisboa, 1, 1973, p.405-410.

¹⁴ P. Spunar, «Définition de la paléographie», in *Scriptorium*, XII (Louvain 1958), pp. 108-110.

1.2. HISTÓRIA PORTUGUESA DO CIFRÃO

A grave crise monetária que há dois anos abalou o mundo ocidental, propulsou o dólar americano a um súbito vedetismo nos meios de informação mundiais. As grandes revistas sentiram-se na obrigação de oferecer aos seus leitores, ao lado das substanciosas análises sobre o mecanismo e causas da crise, o «hors-d'oeuvre» de algumas curiosidades históricas a respeito do dólar: origem do nome, vicissitudes monetárias, etc., etc., e, naturalmente, a origem e significado do respectivo símbolo, o cifrão \$. Na França, por exemplo, enquanto «L'Express» compunha com um cifrão grandemente ampliado, sobre fundo fotográfico de lingotes de ouro, a sua página de capa (n.º 1 049, de 16-22 Agosto 1971); «Paris-Match», num inserto laudamente intitulado «Sachez tout sur le dollar» (n.º 1 163, de 21 Agosto 1971, p. 27), expunha assim a genealogia do símbolo:

«Une variété du dollar espagnol, dite «dollar à colonnes», porte à son revers deux colonnes représentant les colonnes d'Hercule (les deux promontoirs du détroit de Gibraltar), enrubannées. Autre version: une déformation du chiffre 8 (avec deux bandes verticales), parce que le dollar espagnol compte 8 reales, et qu'il est couramment appelé pièce de 8».

Informações dubitativas, como se vê, e pouco convincentes. A juntar à figura já de si intrigante do cifrão (um S, sem qualquer relação visível com o nome «dollar», cortado por dois traços verticais), e ao facto de sinal idêntico simbolizar, no resto da América, os «pesos» das várias nações de fala espanhola, e, na Europa, em caso único e especial, o «escudo» português. A especialidade do cifrão português consiste em inserir-se entre os algarismos dos escudos e os dos centavos (no tempo dos réis, entre os algarismos dos milhares e os das centenas-dezenas-unidades), ao passo que nas outras moedas vai lançado antes do número.

Pessoalmente, como professor de paleografia portuguesa, vi-me atingido por uma consequência assás imprevisível da crise: chegaram-me, de várias procedências, pedidos de esclarecimento sobre a verdadeira origem histórica do cifrão. Por fortuna, acontecia que a evidência da documentação manuscrita para outros fins me impusera já as linhas sumárias da solução do problema. Mediante novas pesquisas expressas, ampliei a reco-

lha documental¹, e pude afinar a construção explicativa que vou expor. Devo, porém, confessar uma lacuna: falta-me a documentação espanhola e hispano-americana, e a anglo-americana e inglesa, que repete indispensáveis para uma completa visão histórica. A ajuda pedida aos álbuns de paleografia resultou nula, e seriam precisas buscas nos arquivos locais. Foi por isso que dei ao presente estudo o título restritivo de «história portuguesa do cifrão».

Na numeração medieval portuguesa de tipo romano, o modo de representar os milhares consistia em envolver o seu número numa espécie de arco em ferradura, às vezes de pontas tão aproximadas por baixo do número que imitava a silhueta dum balão, mas normalmente reduzido pela cursividade a um arco alongado por cima do número, semelhante ao sinal geral de abreviatura: fig. 1 (de 1497)².

Na área castelhana, o sinal de milhares era também um arco, mas invertido e estreito, em forma de «U» muito alongado em altura, e colocado na própria linha, a seguir ao número dos milhares: fig. 2 (1493)³.

O cordial entendimento mantido entre as coroas de Portugal e de Castela-Aragão na primeira metade do século XVI, abriu caminho à introdução, na corte de Lisboa, de muitos elementos da cultura e da moda castelhanas, veiculados principalmente, penso, pelos séquitos das sucessivas esposas espanholas de D. Manuel e D. João III. Um dos elementos importados foi exactamente o sinal de milhares em forma de «U». Que eu saiba, o primeiro texto português a adoptá-lo é o rol das jóias da rainha D. Cata-

1
2

¹ Para o século XIX cito agradeço nos meus alunos, Sr.^a D. Maria Lucinda Gil de Barros e Melo de Sampaio, e Sr. Fernando Manuel Cifra Duarte da Silva, as fotocópias que me facultaram de espécies manuscritas dos seus arquivos de família.

² Dada a índole do presente estudo, e razões de praticidade, todos os exemplos figurativos que o ilustram são reproduções à mão livre, e não foto-reproduções, dos originais; e só em casos especiais se fornecerá a cota arquivística de cada documento.

³ Tirada de F. Arribas Artanz, *Paleografía documental hispánica*, Valladolid 1965, lámina 99.

rina, em páginas de 1554: figs. 3 e 4⁴. E atenção! O sinal passou dos números romanos para os árabes. Nos quais, em rigor, é inútil. E de facto muitos escrivães, talvez a maioria, continuaram, até fins do século XVIII a não usar qualquer sinal, ou quando muito um ponto. Portanto o U desempenhava funções de mero relevo visual, ou porventura de dificultador de falsificações.

Útil ou inútil, por si e com a ajuda da dominação filipina, o sinal instalou-se no uso português. E sobre a sua história durante todo o século XVII, há apenas a observar duas coisas. Primeira: que, enquanto na imprensa ele cristalizava na forma de U maiúsculo, na escrita manual ia obedecendo às instâncias gráfico-estéticas dos tempos, com tendência geral para se arredondar no traçado e abaixar à altura dos números: figs. 5 (Braga, 1600; estenda-se 2.000 cruzados) e 6 (Lisboa, 1709). Segunda: que o sinal significava simplesmente «mil», quer os milhares fossem de réis, quer de outro qualquer objecto numerável. Em 1718, ensinava ainda Manuel de Andrade de Figueiredo, na sua *Nova escola para aprender a ler, escrever e contar* (pp. 87-88):

«Ha huã figura a que chamão cifrão, sua fôrma he esta, U, serve de abreviar as cifras⁵ da unidade, dezena, centena, como v.g. queremos assentar quatro mil, pomos 4. com hum cifrão, assim 4U-, & cõmummente usamos delle nas contas de somar, entre centena, & milhar para separação, como vemos abayxo».

E se o exemplo da soma que fornece a seguir é de várias parcelas de milhares de réis, na pág. 156, para ensinar o valor dos números romanos em geral, traduz XM. por 10U., XXM. por 20U., etc.

E contudo, já pelo menos uma década antes, alguém algures introduzira o elemento novo que iria lançar o U em evolução para o futuro §.

⁴ ANTT., *Fundo Antigo*, pasta 163, ff. 26 v. e 88.

⁵ Ou seja, os zeros.

56 0000 3
33 0810 4

2 U 5
30588 6

Esse elemento consistia em dois tracinhos paralelos, colocados obliquamente na abertura do U manuscrito (arredondado quase em forma de O).

Na verdade, em alternativa com outra variante, não sei se contemporânea se anterior: um só traço, horizontal, a cortar pelo meio o U: figs. 7 (Lisboa, 1726: 12 mil réis), 8 (Braga, em gesto retardatário, já no ano de 1772) e 9 (Braga, 1763, degradação cursiva do tipo).

Mas foi o U com os dois tracinhos que acabou por prevalecer. Note-se que a nova figura já designa, não qualquer género de milhares, mas apenas milhares de réis, ou quando muito de moedas; e em consequência usa-se exclusivamente em contas de dinheiros.

Quando, onde, e por obra de quem se operou a inovação?

O exemplo mais antigo, mas já em uso habitual, de cifrão com dois tracinhos encontrei-o no borrador de cartas comerciais, dos anos 1710 e 1711, pertencente ao nobre-mercador Duarte Sodré⁶: figs. 10 e 11, de 1710; 12, 13 e 14, de 1711. O facto é extraordinariamente precoce, no panorama paleográfico português. Mesmo nos livros de contas, o novo cifrão só começa a divulgar-se entre nós a partir de meados do século. Onde infiro que a inovação não nasceu em Portugal, mas veio de fora parte.

Donde? O mapa da rede de comércio internacional em que o activo homem de negócios operava, não deixa lugar a dúvidas. Excluídas as áreas portuguesa (metrópole, ilhas atlânticas, Brasil e Angola) e holandesa (Amesterdão e Coração) e o contacto alemão de Hamburgo, restam: Londres, as colónias inglesas da América do Norte, e Barbados e Jamaica, duas fixações inglesas nas Antilhas⁷. nenhuns contactos com as Antilhas

⁶ Códice pertencente à Prof. Virgínia Rau, a quem agradeço a facilidade de consulta, e que serviu de documento-base para a dissertação de licenciatura (dactilografada) da Dr.^a Maria Júlia de Oliveira e Silva, *Duarte Sodré Pereira, fidalgo e mercador*, 2 vols., Lisboa (Faculdade de Letras), 1971.

⁷ Ver G. D. Ramsay, *English overseas trade during the centuries of emergence*, Londres 1957, pp. 142 e 162.

V2 7
400 8
038505 9

800 10
200 11
16300 12
52000 13
158400 14

espanholas, como aliás nem com a restante área espanhola⁸. Portanto o novo cifrão, que é um híbrido, nasceu na área de negócios inglesa em contacto com a área portuguesa.

Duas razões, uma gráfica, outra económica, confirmam a hipótese. Razão gráfica: o elemento novo, os dois tracinhos, era exactamente o sinal usado pelos ingleses (em alternativa com dois pontos) para separar entre si, num sistema monetário não decimal⁹, as Libras dos seus submúltiplos. Ver fig. 15, tirada dum modelo de carta comercial gravado em 1743¹⁰, e figs. 16 (Libras) e 17 (Réis), tiradas do citado códice de Duarte Sodré. O que explica igualmente a origem da variante, com o U cortado por um traço horizontal: traço semelhante cortava, vejamos as figs. 15 e 16, o L designativo de Libras. Sendo assim, foi por certo mão inglesa a primeira a fazer o gesto, menos explicável em mão de português, de acrescentar os tracinhos britânicos familiares, ao U lusitano dos milhares de réis.

Tanto mais que — razão económica — os milhares de réis portugueses interessavam enormemente, nesses começos do século XVIII, os capitalistas ingleses, dando-lhes assídua matéria de escrituração contabilística: para neles traduzirem mercadorias portuguesas e sobretudo ouro, o ouro novo do Brasil. Ouro em obra e em moeda aparece com relevo nas transacções de Duarte Sodré¹¹. E das moedas cunhadas por D. João V, diz C. R. Boxer que tinham curso internacional intenso, «especially in England and the Americas, including the British North American colonies»¹².

Posto isto, é possível uma ulterior aproximação à data do aparecimento da figura híbrida. O ouro brasileiro, descoberto por volta de 1695, não tardou a incentivar fortemente as relações comerciais luso-britânicas, facto do qual o discutido tratado de Methuen, de 1703, é

L 180.17.9 15
L 377.12.2 16
14.12.21 17

⁸ Dissertação citada, vol. I, pp. 258-267.

⁹ O sistema português era decimal, precoce e involuntariamente, devido ao facto de a unidade base de contagem ser de valor mínimo, o real.

¹⁰ G. Bickham, *The universal penman*, Londres 1743 (reimpr. anast. Nova York 1941), pg. 126.

¹¹ Dissert. cit., pp. 259, 261, 263 e 265.

¹² C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne Empire*, Londres 1969, p. 164.

expressão implícita¹³. Para em 1710 poder já aparecer em livro de contas de mercador português, o novo cifrão deve ter surgido nos livros ingleses pelos primeiros anos do século, isto é, à roda da data do tratado de Methuen.

«Le hazard et la nécessité» fazem lei na Biologia. E também na História. O acaso (ou a liberdade) introduz um facto novo, o qual, em reacção com os factores já em campo, desencadeia um processo. Este processo passa então a desenvolver-se segundo o determinismo das leis que regem os fenómenos da sua espécie. Até que o acaso ou a livre acção não introduzam novo factor. E assim por diante¹⁴.

No nosso caso, o factor introduzido de fora é o novo cifrão. Velho nos dois elementos constitutivos, mas novo na sua «forma» gráfica e visual. Os outros factores em campo são o conjunto estruturado dos sinais gráficos da escrita: alfabéticos e outros. As leis principais que vão comandar o processo evolutivo, que levará do cifrão com U ao cifrão com S, parecem-me ser duas.

Primeira lei: as figuras gráficas sofrem em geral, e por vezes de modo marcante, influência das correntes artísticas dominantes¹⁵. Não tanto dos modos como essas correntes se concretizam na pintura, na escultura, na decoração; quanto das opções de base que as comandam: opção utilitária, ou esteticista; simplificadora classicizante, ou «barroca» enriquecedora e exuberante. E nem sempre em sincronismo perfeito entre os vários campos da expressão artística.

Segunda lei: uma figura gráfica nova, se não é suficientemente simples ou nítida para poder impor-se como «cânone» gráfico autónomo, tende em geral para uma grande flutuação canónica (variedade de execuções), e por vezes acaba por ser atraída por cânones mais consistentes

¹³ Ver, para uma rigorosa perspectivização do tratado, sob este e outros aspectos, o artigo de Jorge Borges de Macedo, «Methuen (Tratado de)», in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. III, Lisboa 1968, pp. 48-55.

¹⁴ Parece-me ser esta uma das posições metodológicas partilhadas já em 1965 e por um autor vindo da economia para a teorização da história económica: J. Marczewski, *Introduction à l'histoire quantitative*, Genebra 1965.

¹⁵ O tema é abordado com certo destemor por R. Marichal, «L'écriture latine et la civilisation occidentale du 1^{er} au XVI^e siècle», in *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples*, Paris 1963, pp. 199-247.

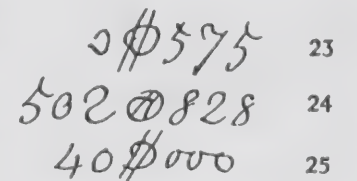
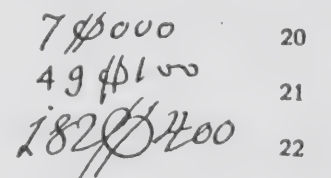
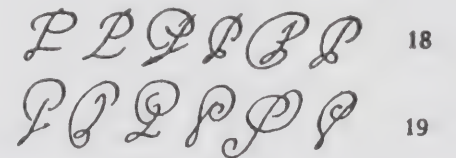
que exibam forma gráfica aproximada. Exemplo típico é a abreviatura medieval de «Unde» (na fórmula diplomática «Unde all nom façades»), proteica em figurações, e ora assimilada à abreviatura de «lhe», ora à de «he».

É notório que o barroquismo gráfico, introduzido como afirmação pessoal do bom calígrafo por certos manuais italianos do século XVI, se desenvolveu e generalizou durante o século XVII, então com tendência para as curvaturas em S, e atingiu o apogeu em pleno século XVIII, agora com predilecção pelas volutas. Sirva de amostra exemplificadora a evolução do P maiúsculo na escrita cursiva comum: figs. 18 (do século XVII, por ordem cronológica, da esquerda para a direita) e 19 (do século XVIII).

Condenado estava pois o cifrão, divulgado entre nós a partir do meio do século XVIII, a torcer-se em espirais. No seu elemento curvo, evidentemente. Porque os tracinhos rectos, pela sua natureza gráfica (e não sei se pela sua natureza britânica) mantiveram-se imperturbáveis; apenas foram crescendo em comprimento.

O fenómeno não se manifesta logo nos primeiros cifrões generalizados (década de 50), ainda fiéis à figura original: figs. 20 e 21 (Braga 1751), e 22 (Lisboa 1761). Desenha-se pelos anos de 60: figs. 23 (Lisboa 1761), 24 e 25 (Braga 1766 e 1770).

Dir-se-ia que a intrusão daquela vontade espiralante e embelezadora des-canonicizou a figura; quer reflexamente, abrindo-a às inovações; quer inconscientemente, tornando-a fluida como arquétipo. O resultado cifrou-se num pulular de figurações novas verdadeiramente impressionante. Uma só



página de livro de contas ¹⁶ de 1788, exhibe cinco tipos diferentes: figs. 26 (sem qualquer sinal), 27 (cifrão com U), 28 (com espiral simples), 29 (espiral com contracurva final, ao alto) e 30 (espiral com contracurva inicial, em baixo).

Outros tipos e variantes: figs. 31 (1770), 32 (1777), 33 (1779), 34 e 36 (1783), 35 (1787), 37 (1792), 38 (1806).

Advertia-se que a antiga feitura (ordem e sentido de execução dos traços constitutivos duma figura) se conservava ainda no período de divulgação, e não se alterou com a efervescência ornamental consecutiva: traçando-se primeiro o elemento curvo (sempre em sentido inverso ao dos ponteiros do relógio, de que só é excepção a fig. 38), e depois os tracinhos. Prova-o a ligadura que às vezes une ao cifrão o algarismo imediatamente anterior (fig. 22, comparada com as figs. 12 e 14), a ligadura interna curva-tracinhos (figs. 33 e 38), e o jogo, mais subtil, entre finos e cheios (figs. 29, 30, 34 e 36).

Se as figs. 29, 34 e 36 não sugeriram nada para além do que atrás ficou dito, peço o favor de se reparar nelas de novo.

A parte curva dos respectivos cifrões não é já um S? Não. Não «é» um S; é uma espiral contracurvada (semelhante neste aspecto à da fig. 33), traçada de baixo para cima (ao contrário do tipo de S que então se vinha impondo), e de forma ainda fluida.

Mas parece-se flagrantemente com o S. E a sugestão de semelhança vai desencadear o processo de atracção e cristalização que transformará, rapidamente, esta variante entre muitas variantes (e de todas quiçás

42956 80970 26 27
42956 78867 28 29
5186957 30

31200 44904 31 32
16250 98000 33 34
98030 98777 35 36
83918 933542 37 38

a menos ortodoxa) ¹⁷, no modelo final, nítido e fixo, do cifrão. Digo «modelo», ou arquétipo de referência; porque, na prática da escrita usual, as implicações contidas na fulgurante atracção do S só uma a uma e devagar se irão explicitando; sempre guerreadas de fora pela sobrevivência das velhas alternativas, e sempre ameaçadas de dentro pela degradação cursiva.

A primeira fase do processo manifesta-se já na fig. 39 (1798): o S não é ainda perfeito de figura, e continua a escrever-se primeiro que os tracinhos (como prova a ligadura da fig. 40, de 1798); mas tem já feitura de S, traçado de cima para baixo, ao contrário das espirais de 1783.

Também ao contrário delas, a conjugação S-tracinhos já não se mostra flutuante (cada uma das figs. 29, 34 e 36 os conjugava de modo diverso), mas bem assente e fixa: os traços, oblíquos, entram do alto tangencialmente à curvatura superior e menor do S, a qual deixam livre à esquerda, para cortarem diametralmente a curvatura inferior e maior.

A seguir, o S vai desenhando melhor a sua figura canónica: figs. 41 (1798), 42 (1802), e 43 (1807).

A fase final do processo tem incidência não só na execução escrita, mas na própria interpretação mental do arquétipo. Graficamente consistiu em passarem a executar-se os dois tracinhos antes do S. Paralelamente, a «forma» mental, que desde o primeiro cifrão híbrido vinha sendo, imagino, a de uma figura arredondada (U, espiral, S) trespassada por dois traços rectos, passou a «ver-se» como duas barras fixas verticais, sobre as quais se vêm enroscar as espiras dum S.

A documentação cursiva que possuo não é nisso clara bastante, mas parece-me que a inversão de figura mental e de traçado se operou entre a segunda e a terceira décadas do século XIX, sendo sua amostra execuções do tipo da fig. 44 (1826), em que os dois tracinhos (agora ponto principal de referência) aparecem mais longos e bem implantados; enquanto

918944 809000 39 40
829460 28846 41 42
298740 121830 43 44
778207 8185 45 46

¹⁶ Braga, Arq. Distr., Capela da Piedade, 1762-1790, f. 173.

¹⁷ Para uma visão, em termos de metodologia histórica geral, desta constante luta pelo domínio do futuro, entre uma multiplicidade de alternativas em presença, ver J. Borges de Macedo, *Importância em história dos métodos para detecção e isolamento dos fenómenos minoritários*, Lisboa 1970.

o S, por um lado, alinha mal com os algarismos do número, e por outro, se submete todo, cabeça inclusa, à lei dos dois traços paralelos. Prova irrefutável só a tenho tardia, e cursivamente degradada, na fig. 52 (1895). Máximo da perfeição canónica em cursivos: fig. 46 (1878).

Entretanto a tradição e a facilidade cursivante resistiam. Figs. 47 (1805), 49 (1830) e 50 (1836): cifrões com espirais; a espiral da fig. 50 é sucessivamente degradada, pelo mesmo escrivão e na mesma

página, até às proporções de um simples ponto. Este cifrão reduzido a um ponto ou uma pequeníssima forma redonda insinuada entre os dois traços, tornou-se de uso frequente. Muitos plunitivos a ele recorriam nas grandes séries de parcelas contabilísticas, traçando apenas na soma final um belo e claro S de compensação; assim procedeu aquele que escreveu o número da fig. 45 (1843). Figs. 48 (1820) e 51 (1851): degradações do S do tipo do da fig. 39, mas já com os tracinhos executados em primeiro lugar.

Neste conspecto, forçoso se torna reconhecer que, de facto, como aliás de direito e por essência, o cursivo nunca seria capaz de atingir e tornar fixo o modelo ideal de cifrão em S que hoje conhecemos. E na verdade creio que o papel primacial nessa criação e fixação coube, não à escrita usual, mas a um sector especial, que faz de ponte entre a escrita e a arte: o dos estilizadores de letras (gravadores, desenhadores de tipos de imprensa, etc.), sector onde a lei é a ascensão canónica (inversa da degradação cursiva), ou busca do aperfeiçoamento gráfico (visual e lógico) dos cânones das letras.

Confrontando-a com o contexto cursivo seu contemporâneo (figs. 37-43), admire-se a mestria com que uma das primeiras obras daquele sector, fig. 53, cifrão gravado em 1798¹¹, atingia a perfeição estética: os traços paralelos oblíquos foram verticalizados e integrados com o S (já pensado como tal?) num conjunto regularizado segundo um duplo eixo de simetria, vertical e horizontal. Um século mais tarde, fig. 54 (1898, bilhete de pagamento, em caracteres de imprensa), o modelo

46\$600 13m232 47 48
50\$160 \$\$\$\$ 49 50
18\$780 78\$300 51 52

2\$400 53
14\$000 54
6\$400 55

¹¹ Para uma apólice do tesouro emitida em 1798: A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, vol. I, Lisboa 1972, grav. 67.

é essencialmente o mesmo; apenas os traços verticais, agora elemento primeiro de referência, ultrapassam o S para cima e para baixo.

O que não quer dizer que ficassem para sempre abolidas deste sector as variações e a inventiva. A fig. 55 mostra um cifrão, de traços oblíquos e S imperfeito, aparentado aos da primeira fase cursiva supracitada, que fazia parte dos tipos usados em 1927 para a impressão da *História de Portugal* de Fortunato de Almeida (tomo V, p. 263). Para não citar, por dúvidas quanto à sua legitimidade, o cifrão com um só traço vertical.

*

Recapitulando. Meados do século XVI: importação portuguesa do U castelhano de milhares, associado aos números árabes, para us, geral. Primeiros anos do século XVII: associação a esse U dos dois tracinhos monetários britânicos, para uso exclusivo com dinheiros, principalmente com milhares de réis. Meados do século XVIII: difusão do cifrão novo em Portugal. Logo seguida de complicação ornamental, fluidez canónica, pulular de variantes. Começos do último quartel do século: o sinal, através da sua variante em espiral com contracurva superior, é atraído para a órbita canónica da letra S; muito cedo em completeza no sector dos modelos desenhados; pouco a pouco, por etapas que se arrastam pelos fins do século XVIII e todo o primeiro quartel do século XIX, no campo da escrita comum.

Houve ou não outras interferências estrangeiras, além das apontadas, no desenrolar deste processo evolutivo? E quando e por que vias foi o sinal adoptado pelas novas nações do continente americano? Eis o que a documentação que me falta deverá esclarecer.

Mas o processo português descrito apresenta-se tão longo, tão rico e tão coerente, que a minha pergunta final, que é ao mesmo tempo hipótese de trabalho para ulteriores investigações, a formulo da seguinte maneira: será esta simplesmente a história portuguesa do cifrão, ou, pelo contrário, não será principalmente esta, portuguesa, a história do cifrão?

A proclamation issued in Dutch in 1760, at Fort Amsterdam, on the West Indian island of St. Martin,⁶ imposes a penalty named in Figure 2 for giving aid to certain slaves from the island of St. Croix. What the sign before the 500 signifies is not altogether certain. It may stand for "piastres" (pesos) or perhaps "guilders." It probably signifies ps (No. 3). That this is the correct interpretation appears somewhat more clearly from a second appear-

*Deselve binne heiden en veertien dagen na
daen dat den geene die gevondte sulke warden
in een boete van f. 500: te appliceren de 1/3
brenger ende andere 1/3 van de officier die
opdatte Executie Sonder enige verhooringe
niemant hier van enige Ignorantie sulke
gedaane Publicatie gelyktrant is
Naar Suck Gebruykelyk is*

Figure 2.

Part of a proclamation relating to slaves from the West Indian Island Saint Croix, and referring to a penalty of (apparently) \$500.

ance of this sign in an endorsement in the same handwriting on the back of the sheet on which this proclamation is written, where the s is quite distinct. In both cases, what we take to be the letter s has descended partway upon the p. If this is the correct view, then we have in this document of 1760 a step toward the formation of our modern dollar mark.

*N.º de Abril de 1778. D.º Ant.º Brexa, Ver.
de esta Ciu.º, Presentó Instrumento, en
que consta haver comprado al R.º Ais.
un Negro Mulecon, y una Negra Muleco-
na, en precio de quatrocientos oseta y
ocho p.º \$ cinco xrs y diez y siete mar, los
que ha recibido el Factor D.º Pedro de
Laxera.*

Figure 3.

An entry made at Porto Rico relating to the sale of a negro. Note the "ps \$" (Nos. 3 and 1) for "dollars" and the "rrs" for "reales."

No uncertainty relating to the meaning of symbols exists in a record of the sale of slaves held at Porto Rico.⁷ Three different handwritings appear in the record. At first "pesos" are marked ps (No. 3). But the part from which Figure 3 is taken shows ps (No. 3) and \$ (No. 1) placed side by side, thus ps \$ (Nos. 3 and 1). Observe the occurrence also of a repetition of the letter "r" in the abbreviation for "reales." We see here the expression of

⁶Bancroft Library, University of California, Danish West Indies Collection. Proclamation by Pieterz, Feb. 22, 1760.

⁷Bancroft Library, Danish West Indies Collection, 1768-1779, Porto Rico.

*1 1/2 X on
whole*

*blow up
2 X*

p \$ cinco rrs

n. 1. de Abril de 1778. D.ⁿ Ant.^o Bieza, Ver.^o
 de esta Ciu.^d, Presentó Instrumento, en
 que consta haver comprado al D.ⁿ Aus.^{to}
 un Negro Mulecon, y una Negra Muleco-
 na, en precio de quatrocientos sesenta y
 ocho p.^s \$ cinco xx^d y diez y siete mrs; los
 que ha recibido el Factor D.ⁿ Pedro de
 Larrea.



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un Negro Mulecon, y una Negra Muleco-
na, en precio de quatrocientos sesenta y
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Proclamation by Pieterz, Feb. 22, 1760.

⁷Bancroft Library, Danish West Indies Collection.

de Abril de 1778. D.ⁿ Ant.^o Cieza, Ver.^o

de es

que. Ca

1778 PORTO RICO. Slave Sale for
478 Pesos, 5 reales, 17 maravedis.

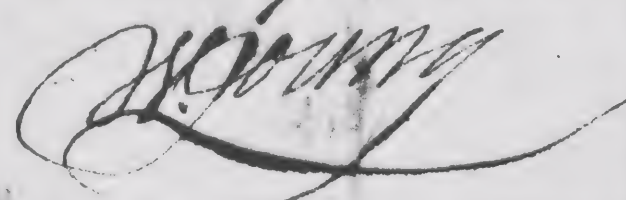
o, en
to
Ass.

un Negro Mulecon, y una Negra Muleco-
na, en precio de quatrocientos sesenta y
ocho p.^{as} cinco xx^{os} y diez y siete mrs; los
que ha recibido el Factor D.ⁿ Pedro de
Larrea.

+ E

BANK OF NORTH AMERICA

Established 1781. Check dated July 17, 1787 with fractions in 90ths of a Spanish milled dollar due to the exchange rate of 7 shillings 6 pence or 90 pence Pennsylvania money of account being equal to one Spanish milled dollar.

NORTH-AMERICA	No. <u>42</u>	Philadelphia, <u>July 17</u> 178 <u>7</u>
	CASHIER of the BANK.	
	Pay to <u>Mr John Gaulton & Sons</u> or Bearer,	
	<u>Eight</u> Dollars & <u>Twenty eight</u> Ninetieths.	
	<u>8</u> DOLL. $\frac{28}{90}$	

No. 643

Philadelphia, 29th Feb'y. 1798

Cashier of the Bank of Pennsylvania,

Pay to A. Pells _____

or Bearer,

Seventy five _____

Dollars $\frac{75}{100}$

= 75 Dollars $\frac{75}{100}$

J. B. Smith & W. A. Smith

Jan. 21 — 1813.

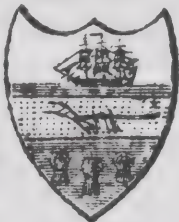
Cashier of the Bank of North America,

Pay to *Louis Ryan* — or Bearer,

Forty — *dollars* —

Dollars, *40* —

Thomas Biddle



No.

Philadelphia, *July 18th* 181*2*

Cashier of the Bank of Pennsylvania,

PAY to *Mary Connor* or Bearer,

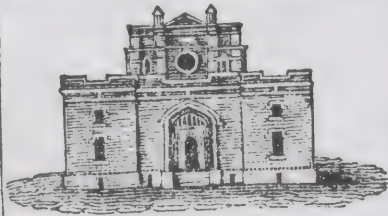
Dollars, 25 Cents.

Eleven

Dollars $11 \frac{25}{100}$ Cents

Thomas Biddle

Philad^a. Decem: 22^d 1812.



Philadelphia Bank,

PAY to Joseph Jacobs }
new lent to November }
Eleven }
— 1812 —

order
or ~~Drawer~~,

Dollars, Cents.

11 Dollars, Cents.

Thomas Bidelle

No. 5364

Office of Discount & Deposit of the Bank of the United States,

WASHINGTON,

March 16, 1821

Cashier of the Office of Discount & Deposit Bank U. S. at

Fayetteville

Pay to the order of

Wm Geo C Calhoun

Seven dollars Seventy five cents

\$ 17. $\frac{75}{100}$

Dollars.

Wm M. Clark

No. 3364

Office of Discount & Deposit of the Bank of the United States,

WASHINGTON,

March 16, 1821

Cashier of the Office of Discount & Deposit Bank U. S. at Fayetteville

Pay to the order of *Wm Geo C Calhoun*
Eleven dollars Seventy five cents

\$ 11. $\frac{75}{100}$ Dollars.

Wm M. Calhoun

Original check written and signed
by James Madison, 1813.

Washington, Nov^r. 22



No



OFFICE of Pay and Deposit of the Bank of Colum

Pay to D. Kennedy or bearer seventy eight 7/10

James M.



\$78.

$\frac{75}{100}$ Dollars.

Private Account.

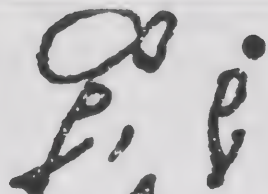
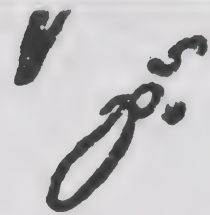
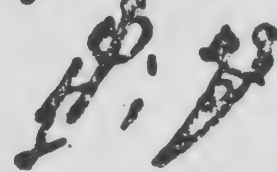
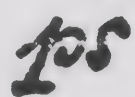
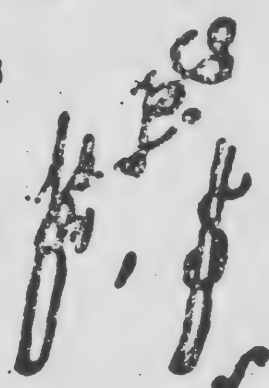

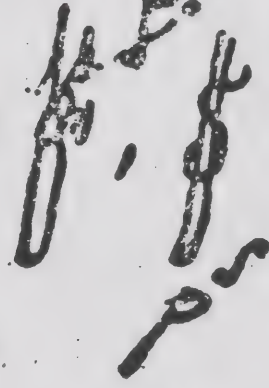




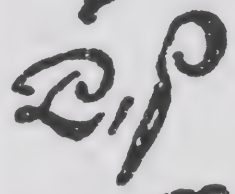
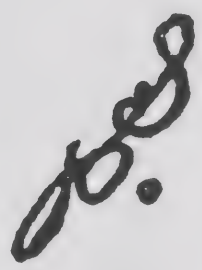
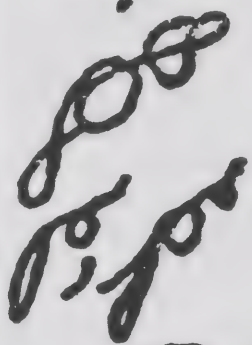
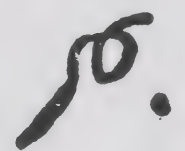
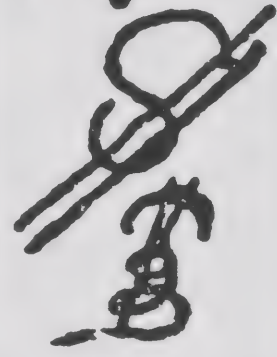
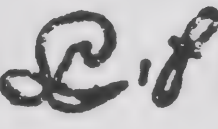
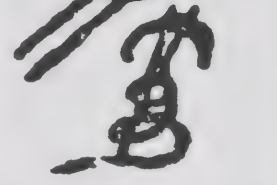
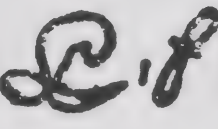
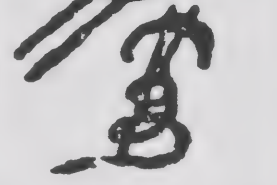
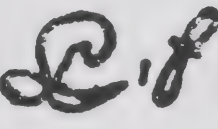
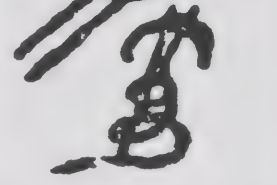
9	Mexico	1718		
11	Chletla (Mexico)	1748		
13	Mexico	1768		
15	New Orleans	1778		
17	Mexico City	1781		
19	On the Mississippi	1787		
21	Philadelphia	1792		
23	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794		
25	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794		
27	New Orleans	1796		
29	New Orleans	1796		

Fig. 3 — Diversos signos representando el *peso español* tos manuscritos (MSS) tales como: cartas, contratos,

Date of M.B. Place of M.B.

1598 . Mexico City 8 —

1633 San Felipe de puerto 4

1649 Mexico City 6

1698 Mexico 8

1745 Mexico City 10 —

1766 Manila 12 —

1769 ? 14

(1778) 1733 New Orleans 16

1786 New Orleans 18

1787 Mexico City 20

1793 "Nouvelle Madrid" 22
(N. O.)

1794 "Nouvelle Madrid" 24
(N. O.)

EL SIGNO \$ DE PESOS

A HISTORY OF MATHEMATICAL NOTATIONS

Place of MS. Date of MS.			Date of MS. Place of MS.		
1	Spain	abt. 1500	1598	Mexico City	2
3	Mexico (?)	1601	1633	San Felipe de puerto	4
5	Mexico	1644	1649	Mexico City	6
7	Manila	1672	1696	Mexico	8
9	Mexico	1718	1745	Mexico City	10
11	Chietla (Mexico)	1748	1766	Manila	12
13	Mexico	1768	1769	?	14
15	New Orleans	1778	(1778) 1783	New Orleans	16
17	Mexico City	1781	1786	New Orleans	18
19	On the Mississippi	1787	1787	Mexico City	20
21	Philadelphia	1792	1793	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	22
23	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794	1794	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	24
25	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794	1794	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	26
27	New Orleans	1796	1796	Philadelphia (?)	28
29	New Orleans	1796	1799	Louisville (?)	30

Fig. 3 — Diversos signos representando el *peso español*, reproducidos de documentos manuscritos (MSS) tales como: cartas, contratos, liquidaciones, libros de con-

30588

Lisbon (1709)
3,588

52 6500

Portugal (1711)
52,500

1820400

Lisbon (1761)
182,400

824

livro de contas¹⁶ de 1788, exhibe cinco tipos diferentes: figs. 26 (quer sinal), 27 (cifrão com U), 28 (com espiral simples), 29 (com contracurva, ao alto) e 30 (com contracurva baixo).

tipos e variantes (1770), 32 (1779), 34 e 35 (1787), 37 (1806).

Ve-se que a antiga forma e sentido de alguns traços consubstancia uma figura) se mantém ainda no período de efervescência, e não se altera a efervescência consecuti-

o-se primeiro o elemento curvo (sempre em sentido inverso aos ponteiros do relógio, de que só é excepção a fig. 38), e depois a ligadura que às vezes une ao cifrão o algarismo anterior (fig. 22, comparada com as figs. 12 e 14), a ligadura curva-tracinhos (figs. 33 e 38), e o jogo, mais subtil, entre os traços (figs. 29, 30, 34 e 36).

42956	84970	26	27
42956	7867	28	29
5186957		30	

31200	44904	31	32	1770
16250	98000			1779
98030	98777	35	36	1783
83918	933542	37	38	

Portugal 1770
31200
Portugal 1779
16250
Portugal 1783
9,000

universe curve
spiral
fluid
stroke

figs. 29, 34 e 36 não sugeriram nada para além do que atrás se viu. O facto de se reparar nelas de novo, a curva dos respectivos cifrões não é já um S? Não. Não «é» a espiral contracurvada (semelhante neste aspecto à da fig. 33), mas vai de baixo para cima (ao contrário do tipo de S que então se vinha a fazer de forma ainda fluida). Recebe-se flagrantemente com o S. E a sugestão de semelhança entre o processo de atracção e cristalização que transformará, esta variante entre muitas variantes (e de todas quiçás

forma gráfica aproximada. Exemplo típico é a abreviatura «Unde» (na fórmula diplomática «Unde all nom façades»), figuras, e ora assimilada à abreviatura de «Ihe», ora

★

que o barroquismo gráfico, introduzido como afirmação em calígrafo por certos manuais italianos do século XVI, se generalizou durante o século XVII, então com tendência

turas em S, e

geu em pleno

agora com pre-

volutas. Sirva

exemplificadora

o P maiúsculo

rsiva comum:

século XVII,

ológica, da esquerda para a direita) e 19 (do século XVIII).

o estava pois o cifrão, divulgado entre nós a partir do

o XVIII, a torcer-se em espirais. No seu elemento curvo,

Porque os tracinhos rectos,

eza gráfica (e não sei se

reza britânica) manteve-

urbáveis; apenas foram

omprimento.

no não se manifesta logo

cifrões generalizados (de-

ainda fiéis à figura ori-

e 21 (Bragh 1751), e 22

Desenha-se pelos anos de

Lisboa 1761), 24 e 25

1770).

que a intrusão daquela

nte e embelezadora des-

gura; quer reflexamente,

ovações; quer inconscien-

do-a fluida como arquétipo. O resultado cifrou-se num

trações novas verdadeiramente impressionante. Uma só

P P P P P P 18

P P P P P P 19

7 000 20

49 000 21

182 000 22

2 575 23

502 000 24

40 000 25

livro de contas¹⁶ de 1788, exhibe cinco tipos diferentes: figs. 26 (sem qualquer sinal), 27 (cifrão com U), 28 (com espiral simples), 29 (com contracurva ao alto) e 30 (com contracurva ao baixo).

tipos e variantes (1770), 32 (1779), 34 e 35 (1787), 37 (1806).

42956	84970	26	27
42956	78867	28	29
5186957			30

Ve-se que a antiga forma e sentido de alguns traços cons- (na figura) se mantém ainda no período de formação, e não se altera a efervescência mental consecuti-

31200	44904	31	32
16250	98000	33	34
98030	98777	35	36
83918	933542	37	38

Ve-se primeiro o elemento curvo (sempre em sentido inverso aos ponteiros do relógio, de que só é excepção a fig. 38), e depois a prova da ligadura que às vezes une ao cifrão o algarismo anterior (fig. 22, comparada com as figs. 12 e 14), a ligadura curva-tracinhos (figs. 33 e 38), e o jogo, mais subtil, entre os traços (figs. 29, 30, 34 e 36).

★

figs. 29, 34 e 36 não sugeriram nada para além do que atrás se viu, pelo favor de se reparar nelas de novo.

A curva dos respectivos cifrões não é já um S? Não. Não «é» uma espiral contracurvada (semelhante neste aspecto à da fig. 33), mas ao contrário do tipo de S que então se vinha a formar de forma ainda fluida.

Recebe-se flagrantemente com o S. E a sugestão de semelhança entre o processo de atracção e cristalização que transformará, esta variante entre muitas variantes (e de todas quiçás

a
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pelo
J. Bo

Mercantile
Trust
Company N.A.

8th and Locust
P.O. Box 524
St. Louis, Mo. 63166
314-425-2525

**MERCANTILE
BANK**

8¹/₂ DOLL. $\frac{20}{90}$

1787 Philadelphia
Written "8"; printed "Doll.";
then printed fraction bar
and denominator.

Aurora newspaper (Philadelphia)
December 18, 1801, Prices Current

NEW ORLEANS.

Cotton per cwt. 28 dollars; tobacco, per
do. 4 dollars; bar iron per do. 25 dollars;
bacon per do. 12 dollars 50 cents; salted
pork per barrel 14 dollars; flour per do.
10 dollars; whiskey per gallon, 75 cents;
peach brandy per do. 1 dollar 50 cents;
corn unshell'd per bushel 1 dollar.

Prices at Havanna, 32 days since.

Lumber, \$34; pork \$30; beef 20 a
29; other provisions plenty—flour \$9;
molasses and sugar scarce.

that the Ship Rebecca is

\$4750 which Valued

1782 Philadelphia copy of 1778 letter
from Oliver Pollock at New Orleans
concerning prize for ship Rebecca.

second time which by
is now \$5500 I have

Dollars, 40.

1813 Philadelphia
Printed "Dollars," followed by
space for written amount.

\$78.

75
100 Dollars.

1813 Washington, D.C.
Printed "\$"; then long space;
then printed denominator
without printed bar; then
printed "Dollars."

\$11. $\frac{75}{100}$ Dollars.

1821 Washington, D.C.
Written "\$" at beginning;
printed "Dollars." at end.

75 Dollars 25
100

1796 Philadelphia
Written protector on left
of amount; then printed
"Dollars" with printed
fraction bar & denominator.

// Dollars, Cents.

1812 Philadelphia
Written protector before amount;
printed "Dollars" and "Cents".

Dollars // 25 Cents
100

1812 Philadelphia
Printed "Dollars; then a large
space; then printed "Cents".

502 0828

Portugal (1766)
502,828

31#200

Portugal (1770)
31,200

16#250

Portugal (1779)
16,250

9#000

Portugal (1783)
9,000

Harrisburgh, PA. 1805

Printed \$ sign.

Space instead of period
between dollars and cents.

ire, Treasurer,

County of Dauphin:—

ment, viz.—

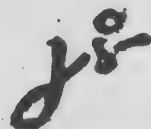
—equal to

\$3022 45


1687 25

— 98

73

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J. S.' with a flourish at the end.

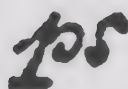
Spain
about 1500

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M. C.' with a flourish at the end.

Mexico City
1598

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M. C.' with a flourish at the end.

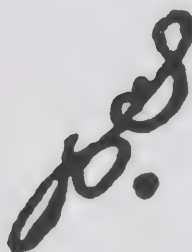
Mexico City
1745

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M. C.' with a flourish at the end.

Manila
1766

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'M. C.' with a flourish at the end.

Mexico City
1781

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'N. O.' with a flourish at the end.

New Orleans
1794

Diary of EZRA L'HOMMEDIEU (1734 - 1811)
made during 1776 session of the Provincial
Council of New York at White Plains.

Aug. 21

Aug. 28

Oct. 2

Oct. 31

~~\$~~~~\$~~~~\$~~~~\$~~

L 180. 17. 9

Portugal (1743)
English Sterling sum.
Two small upright
strokes separate
shillings & pence.

14. 120 Esc.

Portugal (1743)
14,120 Reis
Two small upright
strokes for "thousand"

L 180. 17. 9

Portugal (1743)
English Sterling sum.
Two small upright
strokes separate
shillings & pence.

14. 120 Es.

Portugal (1743)
14,120 Reis
Two small upright
strokes for "thousand"

no aliás nem com a restante área espanhola¹. Portanto o
re é um híbrido, nasceu na área de negócios inglesa em
área portuguesa.

es, uma gráfica, outra económica, confirmam a hipótese.
o elemento novo, os dois tracinhos, era exactamente o
os ingleses (em alternativa com dois pontos) para separar
stema monetário

s Libras dos seus

er fig. 15, tirada

carta comercial

43^{ma}, e figs. 16

(Réis), tiradas

ice de Duarte

explica igual-

da variante, com

r um traço hori-

nelhante cortava, vejam-se as figs. 15 e 16, o L designativo
lo assim, foi por certo mão inglesa a primeira a fazer o
plicável em mão de português, de acrescentar os tracinhos
iares, no U lusitana dos milhares de réis.

s que — razão económica — os milhares de réis portu-
vam enormemente, nesses começos do século XVIII, os
eses, dando-lhes assídua matéria de escrituração conta-
eles traduzirem mercadorias portuguesas e sobretudo ouro,
o Brasil. Ouro em obra e em moeda aparece com relevo
de Duarte Sodré¹¹. E das moedas cunhadas por D. João V,
r que tinham curso internacional intenso, «especially in
Americans, including the British North American colonies»¹².

é possível uma ulterior aproximação à data do apareci-
ra híbrida. O ouro brasileiro, descoberto por volta de
ou a incentivar fortemente as relações comerciais luso-
o do qual o discutido tratado de Methuen, de 1703, é

L 180. 17. 9 15
L 377. 12. 2 16
14. 12. 2 17

citada, vol. I, pp. 258-267.

português era decimal, precoce e involuntariamente, devido ao facto
de contagem ser de valor mínimo, o real.

m, *The universal penman*, Londres 1743 (reimpr. anast. Nova York

t., pp. 259, 261, 263 e 265.

er, *The Portuguese seaborne Empire*, Londres 1969, p. 164.

502 0828

Portugal (1766)
502,828

31#200

Portugal (1770)
31,200

16#250

Portugal (1779)
16,250

9#000

Portugal (1783)
9,000

L 180. 17. 9

Portugal (1743)
English Sterling sum.
Two small upright
strokes separate
shillings & pence.

14#120 Es.

Portugal (1743)
14,120 Reis
Two small upright
strokes for "thousand"

Castile, Spain (1493)

Roman numerals with U
symbolizing "thousand"

Portugal (1497)

Arc is symbol
for "thousand"

Lisbon (1554)

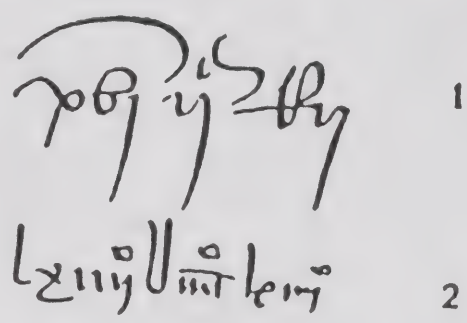
33,810 in
Arabic numerals.
U for "thousand"

documental¹, e pude afinar a construção explicativa que vou expor. porém, confessar uma lacuna: falta-me a documentação espanhola ano-americana, e a anglo-americana e inglesa, que repare indispensável para uma completa visão histórica. A ajuda pedida aos álbuns de grafia resultou nula, e seriam precisas buscas nos arquivos locais. Por isso que dei ao presente estudo o título restritivo de «história da escrita do cifrão».

★

numeração medieval portuguesa de tipo romano, o modo de representar os milhares consistia em envolver o seu número numa espécie de ferradura, às vezes de pontas tão aproximadas por baixo do que imitava a silhueta dum balão, mas normalmente reduzido pela metade a um arco alongado por cima. No entanto, semelhante ao sinal geral de milhar: fig. 1 (de 1497)².

Na área castelhana, o sinal de milhar também um arco, mas invertido, em forma de «U» muito estreito, e colocado na posição em altura, e colocado na posição, a seguir ao número dos milhares: fig. 2 (1493)³.



O cordial entendimento mantido entre as coroas de Portugal e de Aragão na primeira metade do século XVI, abriu caminho à introdução na corte de Lisboa, de muitos elementos da cultura e da moda das cortes de Castela, veiculados principalmente, penso, pelos séquitos das sucessivas rainhas portuguesas de D. Manuel e D. João III. Um dos elementos importantes foi exactamente o sinal de milhares em forma de «U». Que eu saiba, o primeiro texto português a adoptá-lo é o rol das jóias da rainha D. Catarina.

¹ No século XIX não cito agradeço aos meus alunos, Sr.^{as} D. Maria Lucinda de Almeida e Melo de Salazar, e Sr. Fernando Manuel Cifka Duarte da Silva, que me facultaram de espécies manuscritas dos seus arquivos de família. A índole do presente estudo, e razões de praticidade, todos os exemplos que o ilustram são reproduções à mão livre, e não foto-reproduções, dos originais. Só em casos especiais se fornecerá a cota arquivística de cada documento. Da de F. Arribas Arranz, *Paleografía documental hispánica*, Valladolid 1999.

Λ
V

ed the goods were discharged

By

1782 Philadelphia copy of 1788
letter from Oliver Pollock at
New Orleans. 130\$

ed with 130\$ / I have found
Merchants, who were established

Parts of a Pennsylvania advertisement
for sale of books in Oracle of Dauphin
and Harrisburg Advertiser, Jan. 17, 1807

Belmour, a novel, 2 vols.	2 25cts.
Betham's Biographical Dictionary of celebrated women of every age and country,	8 2 50
Life of Erasmus.	6 dls.
Goldsmith's Essays, 2 vols.	1 dl. 50 cents.
Scott's Dissertations, essays and parellels,	2 33
Barclay's new anatomical nomen- clature	1 67

In acc^t. With Oliver Pollock Cr.

1775

Jan^y. By Cash Rec^d \$ 51.00

|	Balance Due John Jennings	\$ 145.40
		\$ 252.50

Carried over

\$ 1347.71/2

On the 12th of January, 1782, in less than two weeks after the bank was opened, they lent the United States.

		\$ 100,000
In the month of February following, they lent	do.	100,000
In the month of March following, they lent	do.	100,000
In the month of June following, they lent	do.	100,000

Making together the sum of	\$ 400,000
----------------------------	------------

In May, 1782, the state of Pennsylvania being unable to pay its quota of the public contribution, the bank lent them the sum of \$ 80,000

So that, with their small capital, the bank did actually advance for the public service, within six months after their organization, the sum of \$480,000; and this will appear more extraordinary, when it is recollected, that the heavy losses of individuals, by the depreciation of the continental money, was then fresh in the public recollection, and occasioned such a distrust of every kind of paper engagements, that the circulation of bank notes was very limited, and the bank could derive but little aid from them.

These loans were not finally paid off, until the 1st of January, 1784.

Nor were these loans, extensive as they appear to be, the only advantage which the country derived from the establishment of the bank. It was in the constant ha-

Handwritten marks on the left margin, possibly 'e' and '2'.

Handwritten marks at the top, possibly 'V' and 'J'.

Handwritten mark, possibly '105'.

1745

Mexico City

1768

Manila

dois tracinhos paralelos, colocados obliqua-
nuscrito (arredondado quase em forma de O).
ativa com outra variante, não sei se contem-
traço, horizon-

figs. 7 (Lisboa,
aga, em gesto
'2) e 9 (Braga,
) tipo).

dois tracinhos
Note-se que a
ualquer género
lhares de réis, ou quando muito de moedas;
xclusivamente em contas de dinheiros.
bra de quem se operou a inovação?

mas já em uso habitual, de cifrão com dois
rador de cartas comerciais, dos anos 1710 e
mercador Duarte Sodré⁶: figs. 10 e 11, de
11. O facto é

no panorama
o nos livros de
ça a divulgar-se
los do século.
não nasceu em
arte.

e de comércio
vo homem de
rgar a dúvidas.
sa (metrópole,
a) e holandesa

o contacto alemão de Hamburgo, restam:
da América do Norte, e Barbados e Jamaica,
ntilhas⁷. nenhuns contactos com as Antilhas

7 72 7
8 40 0
9 03 85 05

10 80 0 -
11 200 0 -
12 103 0 -
13 52 0 500
14 1384 0 302

espanholas, como
novo cifrão, que
contacto com a fr

Duas razões,
Razão gráfica: o
sinal usado pelos i
entre si, num sister
não decimal⁸, as Li
submúltiplos. Ver l
dum modelo de ca
gravado em 1743⁹
(Libras) e 17 (li
do citado códice
Sodré. O que e
mente a origem da
o U cortado por u
zontal: traço semel
de Libras. Sendo
gesto, menos explic
britânicos familiare

Tanto mais q
gueses interessava
capitalistas inglese
bilística: para nele
o ouro novo do l
nas transacções de
diz C. R. Boxer q
England and the An

Posto isto, é
mento da figura
1695, não tardou
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Virginia Rau, a quem agradeço a facilidade de con-
base para a dissertação de licenciatura (dactilogra-
veira e Silva, Duarte Sodré Pereira, fidalgo e mer-
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⁸ Dissertação cita
⁹ O sistema port
de a unidade base de c
¹⁰ G. Bickham, 7
1941), pg. 126.
¹¹ Dissert. cit., p

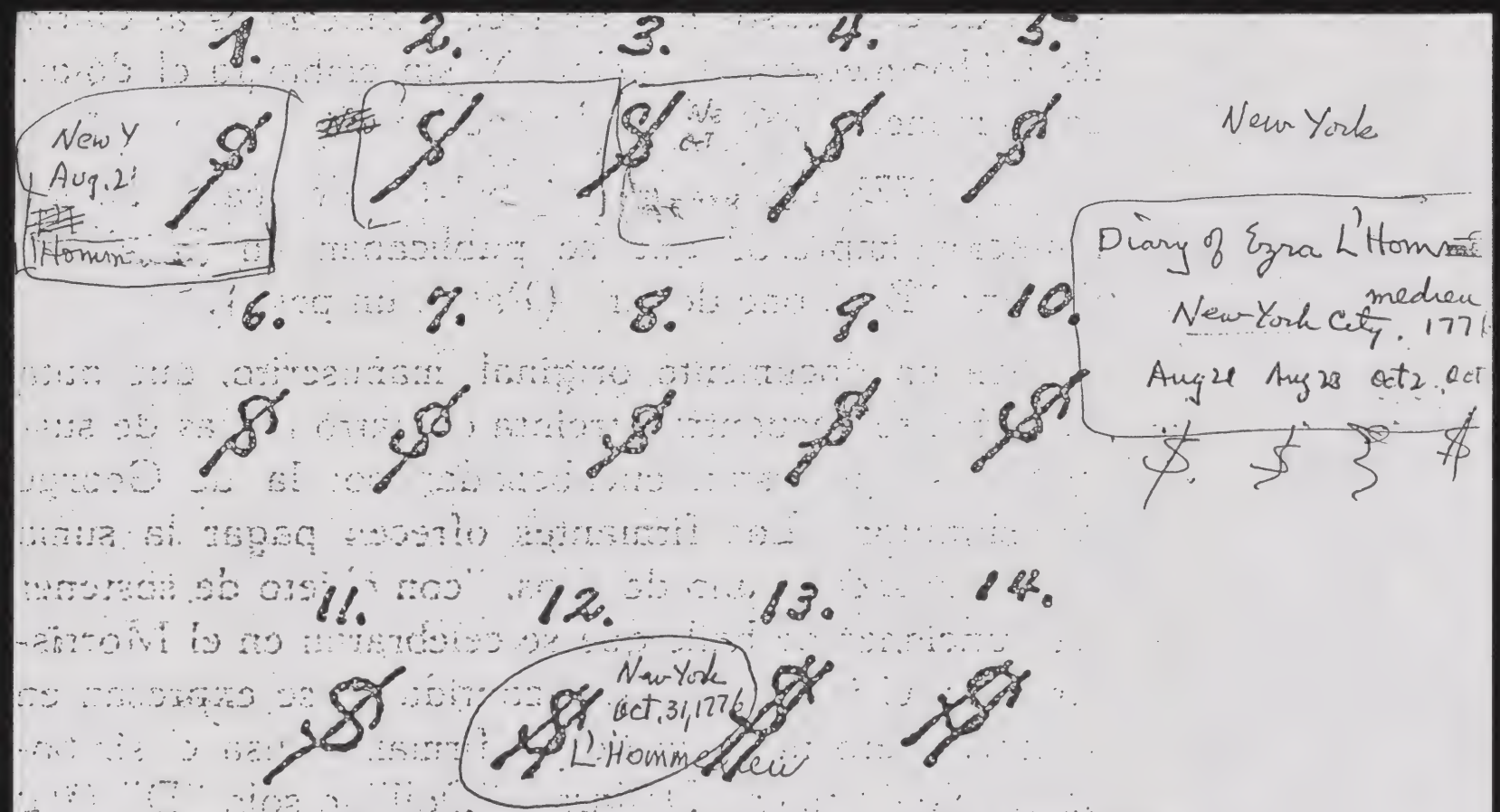


Fig. 5 — Diferentes formas del Signo de Pesos, en el Diario de L'Hommedieu.

Ezra ~~L'Hommedieu~~ L'Hommedieu

New York

pesos que sustituye a la palabra escrita. En los primeros once signos se ve la S cruzada por una sola raya; los tres últimos lo están por dos rayas (véase la citada figura No. 5).

El origen del signo de pesos es en sí muy sencillo. Es la evolución de *p^s*. Cuando la *p* fue hecha de un solo trazo largo, como en la Fig. 3, los núms. 12, 14, 17, 20, entonces el signo toma la forma de \$ como lo hace Robert Morris (Fig. 3, núm. 21).

Antes de 1800 la figura ahora conocida de \$ se empleó contadísimas veces. En nuestras muchas investigaciones lo encontramos en los manuscritos del siglo XVIII no más de treinta o cuarenta veces; nin-

EL SIGNO \$ DE PESOS

A HISTORY OF MATHEMATICAL NOTATIONS

Place of MS. Date of MS.

Date of MS. Place of MS.


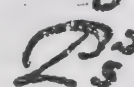

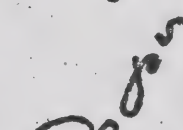

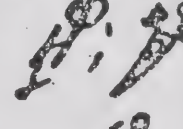

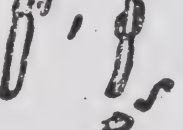

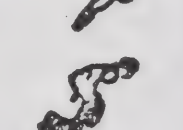

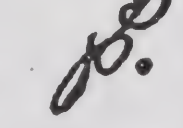
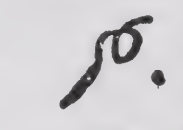
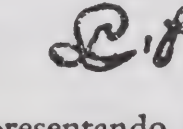
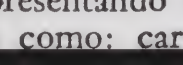
1	Spain	abt. 1500		1593	Mexico City	2	—
3	Mexico (?)	1601		1633	San Felipe de puerto	4	—
5	Mexico	1644		1649	Mexico City	6	—
7	Manila	1672		1693	Mexico	8	—
9	Mexico	1718		1745	Mexico City	10	—
11	Chletla (Mexico)	1748		1766	Manila	12	—
13	Mexico	1768		1769	?	14	—
15	New Orleans	1778		(1778) 1783	New Orleans	16	—
17	Mexico City	1781		1786	New Orleans	18	—
19	On the Mississippi	1787		1787	Mexico City	20	—
21	Philadelphia	1792		1793	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	22	—
23	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794		1794	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	24	—
25	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	1794		1794	"Nouvelle Madrid" (N. O.)	26	—
27	New Orleans	1796		1796	Philadelphia (?)	28	—
29	New Orleans	1796		1799	Louisville (?)	30	—

Fig. 3 — Diversos signos representando el *peso español*, reproducidos de documentos manuscritos (MSS) tales como: cartas, contratos, liquidaciones, libros de con-

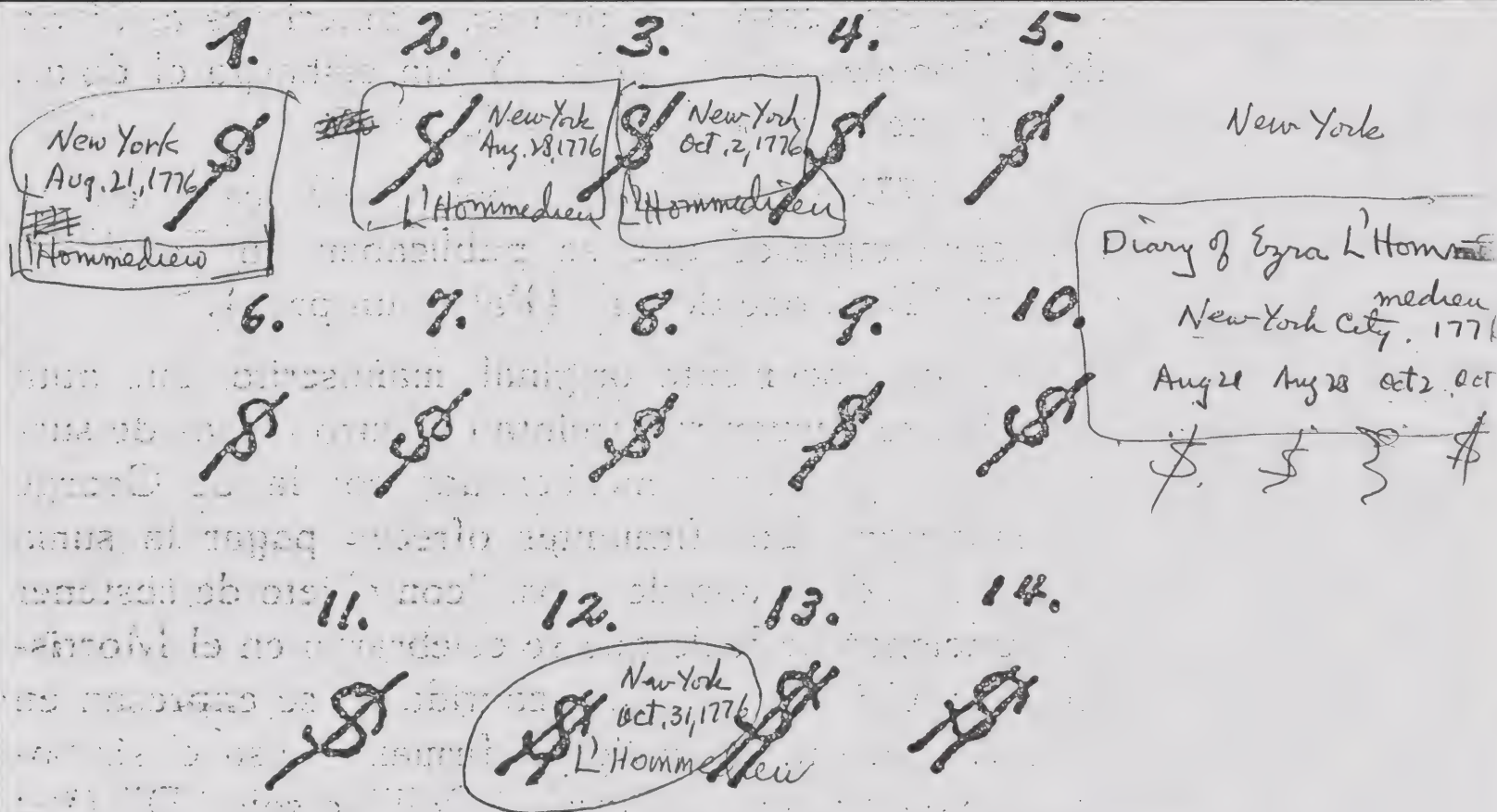


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The symbol \$ (Cifrao) derives from the Arabic "tsiphron" (zero). Primitively it was utilized to represent one thousand units, abbreviating its writing, as ~~registered~~^{recorded} by Antonio de Moraes Silva, in his dictionary of the Portuguese Language, 2nd edition, Lisbon, Typ. Lacerdina, 1813:

Cifra : The character of one zero in Arithmetic.

Cifrao: In Arithmetic, Great cifra, sliced \$: the equivalent of 3 cifras, thus 1\$ is worth 1.000.

This way, when one abbreviated 4\$ tt, the meaning was four thousand tons; In monetary terms, 768\$ rs. represented seven hundred and sixty eight thousand reis. In amounts smaller than one thousand it was usual to represent 768.415 rs. ... or 768\$ 415 abandoning the use of reis.

In a superficial research, the oldest utilization of the Cifrao was in a letter dated August 10, 1708, from Manoel de Almeida Soares in Bahia to Francisco Pinheiro in Lisbon. It says (in archaic Portuguese) :

I arrived in such a bad time that I found the land full of Indian silk that one can not do business and for this reason I did not sell any of your silk with the tumult of the ships and the sales from the men of India no-one looks at anything from the kingdom but with the departure of the ships, no doubt one is going to sell beautifully and I have only sold 150 \$ of the shipping...

(In Colonial Business - A commercial correspondence of the XVIII Century), Luis Lisanti Fiolho, 1973 v.I, p.7)

Thus, the generalized use of the \$ (Cifrao) in Portugal and Brazil goes back at least to the beginning of the XVIII Century, therefore way before the appearance of the dollar and its symbol.

When the Brazilian monetary unity was changed in 1942, and the Cruzeiro was created, the symbol was kept, we believe, by mere tradition.

O símbolo \$ (cifrão) deriva do árabe "tsiphron" (zero). Foi primitivamente usada para representar mil unidades, abreviando sua escrita, conforme registrou Antônio^{de} Moraes Silva, em seu Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa, 2ª ed., Lisboa, Typ. Lacerdina, 1813:

CIFRA: s.f., A figura de um zero na Aritmética.

CIFRÃO: s.m., Na Aritmet. cifra grande cortada ~~o~~ : equivale 3 cifras assimque 1\$ vale 1.000; 1.000.

Neste sentido, quando se escrevia 4\$ tt o significado era quatro mil toneladas; no uso monetário, 768\$ rs. representava setecentos e sessenta e oito mil réis. Quando existisse quantidade de réis inferior a mil, escrevia-se 768.415 rs. O hábito teria, certamente, levado ao uso do cifrão para separar a casa dos mil, em qualquer caso: 768\$415, abandonando-se o uso do "rs.".

O emprego monetário desta abreviatura mais antigo que em rápida pesquisa nos foi possível verificar, data de 10 de agosto de 1708, em carta de Manoel de Almeida Soares (Bahia) dirigida a Francisco Pinheiro (Lisboa). Diz ela:

.... Vim em tão ma ocasião q. achei a tterra chea de sedas da India q. se podem levar por negocio p^a esa tterra cauxa por onde não vendi nada nada (sic) de suas sedas e com a bulha da frota e com os baratillo dos homes da India nimgem olha p^a nada do reino mas partida a frota não ha duvida q. tudo se ha de vender bellamente e somte. tenho vendido 150\$ de sua caregm

(in "Negócios Coloniais - Uma correspondência comercial do Século XVIII-, Luís Lisanti Fioho, 1973, v. I, p. 7)

Destarte, o uso generalizado do \$ (cifrão), em Portugal e no Brasil, remonta, pelo menos, ao início do século XVIII, portanto, muito antes do aparecimento do dólar e seu símbolo.

Quando a unidade monetária brasileira foi alterada em 1942, passando a existir o cruzeiro, o símbolo foi conservado, ao que pensamos, por mera tradição.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1805.

Expenditures in the Treasury of Dauphin County, for the year, 1804, to the 4th day of February, 1805----both days.

Boyd, Esquire, Treasurer,
Account with the County of Dauphin:—
Balance at settlement, viz.

5—equal to	\$3022 45
debts \$632 14 5—equal to	1687 25
and lands	98
	73

for the year 1804.

Sums.	Collectors.
\$273 12	John Shepley
112 93	John Sweigert
130 39	Obed Fahnestock
232 33	Christian Sheffer
270 71	Samuel Finney
202 25	Thomas Koppenheffer

No.	Amount bro
29	To cash paid Peter Bricker,
30	Harrisburgh, Pa. Philip Eba, deficiency
31	Printed \$ sup. Henry Reickert, for
32	No further balance Jacob Wentz, contin
33	Space instead of Michael Kapp, iron
34	period between George Wolfersberg
35	dollars and cents Jacob Mack, wood for
36	Philip Iba, township
37	Benjamin Mayer, p
38	George Beshore, to
39	John Cassell,
40	Benjamin Kurtz, co
41	Anthony Pratz, def
42	Michael Rathfong,
43	John Boal, township
44	John Mace, state w
45	Christian Epler & a
46	Adam Weiss, esq.
47	Henry Reickert, j
48	John Finney, igno

no aliás nem com a restante área espanhola⁸. Portanto o
 é um híbrido, nasceu na área de negócios inglesa em
 área portuguesa.

es, uma gráfica, outra económica, confirmam a hipótese.
 o elemento novo, os dois tracinhos, era exactamente o
 os ingleses (em alternativa com dois pontos) para separar
 stema monetário

s Libras dos seus
 er fig. 15, tirada
 carta comercial
 43¹⁰, e figs. 16

(Réis), tiradas
 lice de Duarte
 explica igual-
 da variante, com
 r um traço hori-

nelhante cortava, vejam-se as figs. 15 e 16, o L designativo
 lo assim, foi por certo mão inglesa a primeira a fazer o
 plicável em mão de português, de acrescentar os tracinhos
 iares, no U lusíada dos milhares de réis.

s que — razão económica — os milhares de réis portu-
 avam enormemente, nesses começos do século XVIII, os
 eses, dando-lhes assídua matéria de escrituração conta-
 eles traduzirem mercadorias portuguesas e sobretudo ouro,
 o Brasil. Ouro em obra e em moeda aparece com relevo
 de Duarte Sodré¹¹. E das moedas cunhadas por D. João V,
 r que tinham curso internacional intenso, «especially in
 Americans, including the British North American colonies»¹².

é possível uma ulterior aproximação à data do apareci-
 ra híbrida. O ouro brasileiro, descoberto por volta de
 lou a incentivar fortemente as relações comerciais luso-
 o do qual o discutido tratado de Methuen, de 1703, é

L 180¹⁷ 9

L 377¹² 2

14 120 *Reis*

Sum
 English Sterling ~~written in~~
 written in Portugal ~~was~~ in 1743 her two
~~vertical~~ ~~upright~~ ~~strokes~~
 15 as separators for shillings
 and pence.

16

Port 14, 120 *Reis* (Portugal 1743)
 Two small upright strokes
 as a separator for 1000
 instead of U.

citada, vol. I, pp. 258-267.

português era decimal, precoce e involuntariamente, devido ao facto
 de contagem ser de valor mínimo, o real.

m, *The universal penman*, Londres 1743 (reimpr. anast. Nova Yorque

t., pp. 259, 261, 263 e 265.

er, *The Portuguese seaborne Empire*, Londres 1969, p. 164.

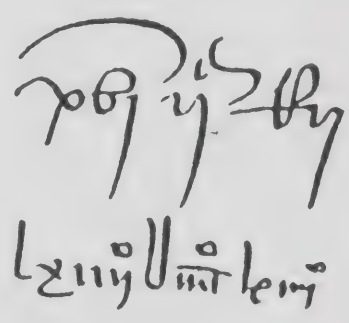
documental¹, e pude afinar a construção explicativa que vou expor. porém, confessar uma lacuna: falta-me a documentação espanhola, luso-americana, e a anglo-americana e inglesa, que repare indispensável para uma completa visão histórica. A ajuda pedida aos álbuns de grafia resultou nula, e seriam precisas buscas nos arquivos locais. Por isso que dei ao presente estudo o título restritivo de «história da escrita do cifrão».

a numeração medieval portuguesa de tipo romano, o modo de representar os milhares consistia em envolver o seu número numa espécie de ferradura, às vezes de pontas tão aproximadas por baixo do que imitava a silhueta dum balão, mas normalmente reduzido pela metade a um arco alongado por cima. Exemplo: fig. 1 (de 1497)².

Na área castelhana, o sinal de milhares também um arco, mas invertido, estreito, em forma de «U» muito alto em altura, e colocado na primeira, a seguir ao número dos milhares: fig. 2 (1493)³.

O cordial entendimento mantido entre as coroas de Portugal e de Aragão na primeira metade do século XVI, abriu caminho à introdução na corte de Lisboa, de muitos elementos da cultura e da moda espanhóis, veiculados principalmente, penso, pelos séquitos das sucessivas rainhas de D. Manuel e D. João III. Um dos elementos importantes exactamente o sinal de milhares em forma de «U». Que eu saiba, o primeiro texto português a adoptá-lo é o rol das jóias da rainha D. Catarina.

¹ Na obra do século XIX não cito agradeço aos meus alunos, Sr.^a D. Maria Lucinda de Azevedo e Melo de Sampaio, e Sr. Fernando Manuel Cifka Duarte da Silva, as que me facultaram de espécies manuscritas dos seus arquivos de família. Para a índole do presente estudo, e razões de praticidade, todos os exemplos que o ilustram são reproduções à mão livre, e não foto-reproduções, dos originais. Só em casos especiais se fornecerá a cota arquivística de cada documento. ² Cota de P. Arribas Arranz, *Paleografía documental hispánica*, Valladolid 1999, p. 99.



Portugal 1497.
Arc ~~indicates~~ ~~thousand~~
symbol for "thousand"
1.
1'

Portugal 1497.
Arc indicates 1000.
Castile, Spain 1493.
Roman numerals with U between numbers is symbol for "thousand"

1
V

Lisbon 1709
3,588 Reis
Stylized U is
symbol for
"thousand"

Lisbon 1554
33,810 in Arabic
numerals,
U is symbol
for "thousand".

19

rina, em páginas de 1554: figs. 3 e 4¹. E atenção! O sinal passou dos números romanos para os árabes. Nos quais, em rigor, é inútil. E de facto muitos escrevões, talvez a maioria, continuaram, até fins do século XVIII a não usar qualquer sinal, ou quando muito um ponto. Portanto o U desempenhava funções de mero relevo visual, ou porventura de dificultador de falsificações.

Útil ou inútil, por si e com a ajuda da dominação filipina, o sinal instalou-se no uso português. E sobre a sua história durante todo o século XVII, há apenas a observar duas coisas. Primeira: que, enquanto na imprensa ele cristalizava na forma de U maiúsculo, na escrita manual ia obedecendo às instâncias gráfico-estéticas dos tempos, com tendência geral para se arredondar no traçado e abaixar à altura dos números: figs. 5 (Braga, 1600; estenda-se 2.000 cruzados) e 6 (Lisboa, 1709). Segunda: que o sinal significava simplesmente «mil», quer os milhares fossem de réis, quer de outro qualquer objecto numerável. Em 1718, ensinava ainda Manuel de Andrade de Figueiredo, na sua *Nova escola para aprender a ler, escrever e contar* (pp. 87-88):

«Ha huã figura a que chamão cifrão, sua fôrma he esta, U, serve de abreviar as cifras³ da unidade, dezena, centena, como v.g. queremos assentar quatro mil, pomos 4. com hum cifrão, assim 4U--, & cõummente usamos delle nas contas de somar, entre centena, & milhar para separação, como vemos abayxo».

E se o exemplo da soma que fornece a seguir é de várias parcelas de milhares de réis, na pág. 156, para ensinar o valor dos números romanos em geral, traduz XM. por 10U., XXM. por 20U., etc.

★

E contudo, já pelo menos uma década antes, alguém algures introduzira o elemento novo que iria lançar o U em evolução para o futuro §.

56 U000

3

33 U810

4

33,810 in Arabic numerals

Lisbon 1554
~~Arabic numerals~~
U indicates 1000.
~~33,810~~

2 U~~10~~

5

30588

6

~~2,000 cruzados~~
~~Braga, Portugal~~
~~U represents~~
~~1600~~
~~1600~~

~~3,588 reis~~
~~Lisbon 1709~~
~~U represents~~
~~1000~~

¹ ANTT., Fundo Antigo, pasta 163, ff. 26 v. e 88.

³ Ou seja, os zeros.

dois tracinhos paralelos, colocados obliqua-
nuscrito (arredondado quase em forma de O).
ativa com outra variante, não sei se contem-
traço, horizon-

figs. 7 (Lisboa,
aga, em gesto
72) e 9 (Braga,
o tipo).

dois tracinhos
Note-se que a
qualquer género
lhares de réis, ou quando muito de moedas;
xclusivamente em contas de dinheiros.
bra de quem se operou a inovação?

mas já em uso habitual, de cifrão com dois
rador de cartas comerciais, dos anos 1710 e
mercador Duarte Sodré⁶: figs. 10 e 11, de
11. O facto é

no panorama
o nos livros de
ça a divulgar-se
dos do século.
não nasceu em
arte.

le de comércio
vo homem de
ugar a dúvidas.
sa (metrópole,
a) e holandesa

o contacto alemão de Hamburgo, restam:
da América do Norte, e Barbados e Jamaica,
ntilhas⁷. nenhuns contactos com as Antilhas

Virginia Rau, a quem agradeço a facilidade de con-
-base para a dissertação de licenciatura (dactilogra-
-veira e Silva, Duarte Sodré Pereira, fidalgo e mer-
-de Letras), 1971.
h overseas trade during the centuries of emergence,

V2 72
400
038505 9

~~12,000 Reis
Lisbon 1726
U has horizontal
cross bar
8~~

80 8 - 10
200 8 - 11
163 8 - 12
52 8 500 13
1584 8 302 14

Portugal 1711
52,500 Reis
~~to Portugal 1711~~
~~U has a vertical upright
cross bar~~
~~U symbol for "Dissert"~~
~~it shows two
upright lines,~~
Two upright lines added
to U symbol.

espanholas, como
novo cifrão, que
contacto com a á

Duas razões,
Razão gráfica: o
sinal usado pelos
entre si, num siste
não decimal⁸, as l.
submúltiplos. Ver
um modelo de ca
gravado em 1743
(Libras) e 17 (l
do citado código
Sodré. O que e
mente a origem da
o U cortado por u
zontal: traço semel
de Libras. Sendo
gesto, menos explic
britânicos familiare

Tanto mais c
gueses interessava
capitalistas inglese
bilística: para nele
o ouro novo do l
nas transacções de
diz C. R. Boxer q
England and the Ar

Posto isto, é
mento da figura
1695, não tardou
-britânicas, facto c

⁸ Dissertação cit.
⁹ O sistema port
de a unidade base de
¹⁰ G. Bickham, 7
1941), pg. 126.
¹¹ Dissert. cit., p

orma gráfica aproximada. Exemplo típico é a abreviatura «Unde» (na fórmula diplomática «Unde all nom façades»), figurações, e ora assimilada à abreviatura de «lhe», ora

★

que o barroquismo gráfico, introduzido como afirmação n calígrafo por certos manuais italianos do século XVI, se generalizou durante o século XVII, então com tendência

turas em S, e

geu em pleno

agora com pre-

volutas. Sirva

exemplificadora

P maiúsculo

rsiva comum:

século XVII,

ológica, da esquerda para a direita) e 19 (do século XVIII).

o estava pois o cifrão, divulgado entre nós a partir do

XVIII, a torcer-se em espirais. No seu elemento curvo,

Porque os tracinhos rectos,

za gráfica (e não sei se

reza britânica) manteve-

arbáveis; apenas foram

omprimento.

no não se manifesta logo

cifrões generalizados (de-

ainda fiéis à figura ori-

e 21 (Braga 1751), e 22

Desenha-se pelos anos de

Lisboa 1761), 24 e 25

1770).

que a intrusão daquela

nte e embelezadora des-

gura; quer reflexamente,

ovações; quer inconscien-

do-a fluida como arquétipo. O resultado cifrou-se num

trações novas verdadeiramente impressionante. Uma só

P P P P P P 18

P P P P P P 19

7000 20

4900 21

182000 22

~~182000~~
Lisbon 1761
182.400

~~2575~~ 23

~~1761 Lisbon~~

5020828 24

1766 Braga, Portugal
502,828

40000 25

~~1770 Braga~~

Mr. Surpy
at St. Louis
Illinois.

Natchez 26th March 1772

Sir,

In answer to yours of the 17th Novem^r 1771 that
came safely to hand, and note well its contents. I am int^rposed (on
Mr. Barrow's Acc^t) that you will not fail in fulfilling the promise
that you gave me in your letter, sending down what skins you
have got in the month next July, or sooner if possible; and if there is
Nothing to be had (which I can't believe) you will send me all the Bills &
Accounts; that you have belonging to Mr. Barrow; that I may have
it in my power to oblige Maxant to come to a settlement.
You have here enclosed Mons^r Dubruet Bill on his brother for £2700
Which I nor Mons^r Ranson could make pay; he alledging
that he had no funds of his Brothers in his hands; and more that he
Would not advance a farthing on his Acc^t. Mons^r Perault, offered
me a parcel of Spanish & French Bills or Bonds to the Amount of £1900
But I would not except them; knowing them to be nothing more than
Imaginary Coin; therefore have Declined having any thing to do with
them — on Mr. Barrow's Acc^t. for I promise you that Mr.
Barrow, has been laying a long time out of his Money; and if I
Take the Bills he might lay a great deal longer; this being the
Needfull for the present,

I Remain Y^r Obed^t Serv^t

1st Lieut. John L. Ligon

Wanchac 12 February 1778

Your esteemed favor of the 24th ult^o for Mr. Richard Sauty are the Contents of which have observed I paid your order & so have it to your acct. with the same. I am glad to hear that Moorship's Note is still on being for God sake don't defer putting him to all the Expence that your Count will receive if as he has used me like an old sharper. I have Inclosed to you Mich^l Bacon's 2nd for \$26.25 further evidence of which I went security for & which I was obliged to pay last Octob^r. Therefore request you will not take any thing in payment but I desire should if the latter make him pay the freight to this place, charging 2nd for Jan^y last Octob^r. I am in hopes you have as this finished the small affair which that remained in your hands, if so remit them if the first opportunity this is the time to make remittance therefore should be glad of them to get it. I acquainted Mrs. Fournier of 1st Company that their

To STEPHENSON, MANCHAC 26 MARCH 1782

for some time, and I have made myself with, with all the care
that came for him. I believe you having received my Letter to y^r Brother
11th of Sept. 1780 by way of Mobile in February following containing sundry
acc^ts of a part of their acc^t. you acknowledge having received, but you
nothing ab^t Capt Henry Smiths acc^t Curr^t. ball^u in my favor \$836³/₄
note was in M^r Millers hands since June 1776/ but this amission I
been owing to your hurry at the time you wrote, from what you mean
ab^t Thornton I am in hopes you have been able to recover the Ball^u.
his Note, say Dol 302/1 on his arrival at Charles Town. I am really
hear that you should have had some much trouble, ab^t my small concern
have had, in some future day it may chappun that I may have it
power to return the Compliment, which be asurid when the occasion
offer, shall with sincerity be acknowledged. M^r David Kays your
presented my acc^t Curr^t. with M^r M^r Gillmore Brothers & Co dated
Pensacola 31 May 1781. by which it appeared that I was still indebted
for me \$1595⁸/₄ (but money) some after the present of the first acc^t.
Acc^t Curr^t. came to hand dated at Charles Town 4th Sept. 1781. with
augmentation in the Ball^u of Dol 159/1. how this augmentation could
be so unknown, as I have had nothing from either of your houses
August 1779. this put me on examⁿ of all our former transactions, and
after having properly done, I avouch that both the acc^ts sent M^r Kays are
erroneous in many respects, this may for a moment appear to you
Paradox, but will not I flatter myself be of long duration when I

for your trouble in these affairs which shall always be acknowledged by you

P.S. Please to acquaint Mr. Martin at Mr. Murphys that the
she gave me for Mr. Mills have sent to him who is now at the appalaugas but

Mr. Oliver Pollock
Sir

Spanish Manchac 13 May 1778

My short stay at Cilans when last there your
hurry of business prevented me from taking up my Note in your hands for the 60
of the Negroes therefore as I cannot for the present leave home have sent you your
Acct. Hunt. which I am in hopes you'll find right ^{above # 78} [balance due me 4. 0 3/4]
your acceptance my favour to Mr. O'Heffe to deliver you therefore request you to
deliver him up said Note & pay him the balance & his acct. shall be the same as
D. Sir yours &c - - -

Mr. Thomas Baicker

Dear Sir

Spanish Manchac May 1778

Since your departure from hence I have some
in my power to find out the Cambrick but all to no effect as at the time we packed up they
had not time to take an Inventory, therefore can't say whether put in a case trunk or Box
I can have no place to put my goods into if they are still in the fort until I have time to
another cabin which I am in hopes will be in a few days hence then shall embrace the
conveyance of sending it to you. Inclosed is your acct. the other I sent it to Mr. Camp which

M^r Sarpy
at St Louis
Illinois.

Natchez 26th March 1779

Sir.

In answer to yours of the 17th Novem^r 1779 that
came safely to hand, and note well its contents; I am int^rposed (on
M^r Barrow's Acc^t) that you will not fail in fulfilling the promise
that you gave me in your Letter; sending Down what skins you
have got in the month next July; or sooner if possible; and if there is
Nothing to be had (which I can't believe) you will send me all the Millst
Accounts; that you have belonging to M^r Barrow; that I may have
it in my power to oblige Maxant to come to a settlement —
You have now enclosed Mons^r Dubruil Bill on his Brother for £2750
Which I nor Mons^r Ranson could never make pay; he alleging
that he had no funds of his Brothers in his hands; and more that he
Would not Advance a farthing on his Acc^t; Mons^r Perreau, offered
me a parcel of Spanish & French; Bills or Bonds to the Amount off £1900
But I would not Except them; Knowing them to be Nothing more than
Imaginary Coin; therefore have Declined having any thing to do with
them — on M^r Barrow's Acc^t. for I promise you that M^r
Barrow, has been Laying a long time out of his Money; and if I
Take the Bills he might lay a great deal longer; this being the
Needfull for the present;

I Remain Y^{rs} &c

but its upwards of 2500 Dollars the which I am in hopes
of discharging before this time as there are a great quantity
of skins coming to me which the Americans have got
and only knows if ever I shall receive a Tyal of it
being the needful I remain with regard
check - is it listed as PS or \$ see below

W. Robert Rofs

Dear Sir

Spanish Manchac 30 April 1778

your esteemed favour of the 26th Inst I duly recd this
Morning & according to yours to W. H. S. request have not detained Mr. Bloomant a moment
have supplied him for his own & the Mens use with sundry Provisions &c. to the amount
[of \$ 103. 5 ³/₄ as off acct - without which he could not proceed therefore] hope it will
with Mr. H. S. approbation - Having nothing further to add only to request
if any thing further of the same nature should offer that you will recommend them
to yours - So

P. S. Please to acquaint the gentleman that is Purser of the Hound for want of
a Boat I can't send him down the Tobacco I promised him

W. Robert Rofs

Spanish Manchac 2 May 1778